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THE

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ART. I *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεος into the Chinese Language.* BY W. J. BOONE.

IT is now two years and a half since my Essay, advocating the use of the word *shin* 神 to render *Elohim* and *Theos* into the Chinese language, was written. Soon after its publication, Dr. Medhurst replied to it in a pamphlet of 107 pages, taking up, as he tells us, every successive paragraph that seemed to call for remark.

In England, the "Inquiry" of Dr. Medhurst, and my Essay, drew from Sir George Staunton a small volume, in which he urges the propriety of using *Shángtí* 上帝 to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, when these words are used *proprié*, and opposes the use of *shin* for this purpose. This volume is written in so very kind and courteous a tone, that we feel much indebted to its accomplished author for his contribution to our discussion. We are also indebted to Dr. Bowring, H. B. M. Consul at Canton, for a spirited article "On the manner of expressing the word for God in the Chinese language," which appeared in the Chinese Repository for 1849, Vol. XVIII., page 600.

On the 30th January last, Dr. Medhurst and five of his friends addressed a letter of 21 pages "To the Protestant Missionaries laboring at Hongkong and the Five Ports of China," in which they give up the native terms for which they had hitherto contended, and advocate as the rendering of Elohim and *Theos* in our Chinese version the transfer of the Hebrew word *Eloah* by the three Chinese characters 阿羅訶 *Aloho.*

More recently, a writer who signs himself "an American Missionary in China," and the Rev. Dr. Legge, have published pamphlets on this controversy, and have commented on my Essay.

That the first-mentioned of these publications has been left so long without an answer, has not arisen from a conviction that no defence of my Essay was needed, but from several causes, the principal of which has been the state of my health, which has rendered writing very irksome to me. Instead of encountering the labor of preparing another pamphlet, I have hitherto preferred keeping the Bible societies acquainted with my views by correspondence; and I confess it is with extreme reluctance that I now set myself to the task of writing another pamphlet for publication; I would so much prefer spending the little strength I have in other work. The question however, which is under debate, is one of such vital importance to the progress of the Gospel in China, that I can not excuse myself from the task, however unpleasant, and I fear that should I refrain longer from printing, it might prove disadvantageous to what I regard as the truth, as many who feel a lively interest in the controversy may have no access to the papers of the Bible Societies, and few who have such access, like to encounter a heavy mass of manuscript. It is due, too, to my missionary brethren in China that I should make them acquainted with what I have to say in defence of an Essay, in the views of which so many of them have concurred. I will therefore, without further preliminaries, address myself to the task which is before me.

In this defence, I shall not endeavor to follow the above-mentioned writers through their several treatises, but shall endeavor to present, as fairly and as fully as I can, all the objections to the arguments offered in my Essay that are of weight, and discuss these objections in that order, which will serve best to set forth clearly the whole matter in dispute.

The positions taken in my Essay may be expressed briefly as follows: The Chinese are polytheists, not monotheists; they do not know the true God, or any being who may truly and properly be called God; therefore the highest being known to them is to be regarded only as the chief god of a pantheon, and not as the Being we call God. *Under these circumstances*, we can only choose, I contended, between "the name of the chief god of the Chinese, and the name by which the whole class of gods is known in their language." It is derogatory to Jehovah to call him by the proper name or distinctive title of any false god; we cannot, therefore, use the name of the chief god of the Chinese to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, and must, according to the alternative above presented, use the generic name of the Chinese gods. We must embrace this alternative, because the use of this generic is necessary to the correct rendering of the First Commandment, and

many other passages of Scripture; its use is absolutely necessary to forbid the reigning polytheism. This generic name is *Shin;* therefore we must use this word *Shin, malgré* all objections, to render *Elohim* and *Theos* into Chinese.

On looking at the above abstract of my argument, it will be seen that the conclusion, "We must use *shin* to render *Elohim* and *Theos,*" rests on the following propositions:

1st. The Chinese do not know any being who may truly and properly be called God; they have therefore no name for such a being, no word in their language answering to our word GOD.

2d. That, this being the state of things, we must seek the general name of their gods, and content ourselves with the use of the word in Chinese that answers to our words a *god, gods*, as the best that can be done under the circumstances.

3d. That *shin* is the general or generic name of the Chinese gods; and therefore it follows, That this word should be used to render *Elohim* and *Theos* into Chinese.

From the nature and connection of the above propositions, it will also be seen, that, to invalidate this conclusion, one of the five following propositions must be sustained.

(a.) The Chinese do know a being, who is truly and properly God; or in other words, the highest being known to them is not a false god, but is the very Being whom we call God, whose name is therefore the proper word by which to render *Elohim* and *Theos* in all cases; or,

(b.) Admitting that the Chinese do not know the true God, contend that we should use a relative, not an absolute or generic term to render *Elohim* and *Theos,* because these words are relative, and not absolute terms; or,

(*c.*) Admitting that the highest being known to the Chinese is not truly and properly God, yet affirm that his name or title, and not the generic name of the Chinese gods, should be used to render Elohim and *Theos* in all cases; or,

(*d.*) Admitting the facts to be as stated in Prop. (*b.*), affirm that, we should render Elohim and *Theos* only when these words are used *proprie*, by the name or title of this highest Being, i. e. *Shángti;* and when used *improprie*, they should be rendered by *Shin*, or *Shin-ming*; or, lastly,

(*e.*) Admitting that under the above-mentioned circumstances, the generic name of the Chinese gods should be used, if such can be found, deny that *Shin* is this generic name, and affirm, on the contrary, that as the Chinese have neither a name for any being who is truly

and properly God, nor any generic name of their gods, and the words *Elohim* and *Theos* must be rendered by a generic term, we have no resource but that of transferring the original word.

All the objections that have been urged against the use of *Shin*, will come naturally under one or other of these heads; and it will promote, we think, a clear understanding of the questions that have been raised, and of all points at issue, to discuss them in this order.

Previous however to the discussion of these heads, I will recur to a point, on which much stress was laid at the commencement of my Essay. I refer to the importance of determining, definitely, at the very outset, "*what* we should seek for, before our minds become engaged in the examination of the multifarious evidence that may be submitted." The settlement of this point, as a preliminary, is the more important from the fact that all parties admit that there is no word in the Chinese language that answers to the Hebrew *Eloah*, *Elohim*, the Greek *Theos*, *Theoi*, and the English *God*, *god*, *gods*.

On this subject Dr. Medhurst thus expresses his opinion on p. 4. of his "Inquiry:" "Having discussed the meanings of *Elohim*, and *Theos*, as these words were understood by both Hebrew and Greek writers, to indicate the Supreme, as well as inferior deities, we now come to consider what term in Chinese is *most nearly equivalent* to them. And here it may be premised, that, after most studious research, we have not been able to find any one term that fully answers to the words as employed in the Old and New Testaments." Dr. Legge, after quoting this, adds his own opinion in the following words: "The conclusion to which my researches, equally studious probably, though not so extensive, have brought me, is substantially the same." We shall see presently that Sir George Staunton, Dr. Bowring, and the "American Missionary," all concur in this opinion.

Of the word *God*, the several parties writing on this question, take widely different views in many respects; but it seems to me there is one error which has chiefly misled Dr. Medhurst, Sir George Staunton, Dr. Bowring and Dr. Legge, and which we must be careful not to fall into, if we would keep the real point of search clearly before us. The error, to which I allude, is that of regarding the word *God* as the "symbol of an idea," to use Sir George Staunton's expression, instead of regarding it, as it really is, as the name of a *bonâ fide* Being, of whom, after we have exhausted all the *ideas* of which we are capable, we can form but very inadequate conceptions.

Dr. Medhurst commences his Inquiry with these words: "In discussing the proper mode of rendering a word out of one language into

another, we should first ascertain, from lexicographers and standard writers, the meaning of the word which is to be translated; and then, by means of the same process, the meaning of the word or words proposed as the representative of *the idea*, in the language into which we are translating." He afterwards appears to feel conscious that many ideas must concur to make up our conception of what is included in the word *God;* the next stage is therefore to content himself with the leading idea, and this leading or principal *idea* he decides is *power* or authority.

Dr. Bowring writes (see Chinese Repository, Vol. XVIII, page 600): "How indeed should they (i. e. the parties who have written on both sides of this controversy) have succeeded? They have been struggling through incompetent means for an unattainable end; they have been seeking in the Chinese mind, and in the Chinese language for what was never there. In order that *an idea* should exhibit itself by some external *symbol*, some expression, some formula—the idea itself must have a previous existence," &c. He then proposes to treat God as he would an unknown quantity in algebra, i. e. represent the unknown quantity by a symbol, viz: Θ. When I read this, the thought occurred to me, Could Dr. Bowring kneel down and seriously pray to Θ, "O, Θ! have mercy upon me!" I surely could not.

Sir George Staunton writes, "In the Chinese language there neither is, nor could there be expected to be, any word which fully and correctly conveys the *idea*, which we Christians attach to the word *God.* Words are but the symbols of ideas, and we have not yet implanted the *idea* itself in the Chinese mind." How much clearer to say,—"We cannot expect to find any name in Chinese for *the Being* whom we Christians call *God*, as we have not yet taught the Chinese to know this Being, God."

To show how fatally this regarding the word *God* as the symbol of an *idea*, will mislead us, we quote from Sir George's "Inquiry" his method of meeting this difficulty. Having stated that the Chinese have no word answering to our word *God*, he proceeds to say, "I think I have shown that the term *Shángti* has from time immemorial been employed in Chinese in a sense *more nearly approaching to that which we attach to the word God than any other which at present exists in the language of the country.*" What is this but saying that, the Being whom the Chinese call *Shángti* comes nearer to the Being whom we Christians call God, than any other Being the Chinese know. But this is a case surely in which the rule *nullum simile est idem* applies. To come short of the Infinite Being whom

we Christians call *God*, is to come infinitely short: to come only near to, and not to be quite one and the same with Him, is to be wholly another Being, a false god.

To clear this matter, we must remember that the word *God* is always the name, not of an *idea*, but of a being; that, when used (1*st*) *propriè*, by monotheists, it is the name of the self-existent, spiritual Being, who created the heavens and the earth, and all things visible, and invisible: that when used (2*d*) *improprièe*, by polytheists, or by monotheists in accommodation to the views of polytheists, it is still, in every instance, the name not of an *idea*, but of a *Being* or *Beings*, (imaginary Beings it is true, yet still beings, not abstract ideas) to whom their ignorant worshipers betake themselves for aid in trouble, look up to for protection, and endeavor to propitiate with religious worship.

The importance of keeping this distinction in our minds arises from the difference there is between those nouns which are the names of beings and abstract nouns, in the facility with which we can use abstract nouns that are very similar in meaning for each other, which interchange can not be made in the case of such concrete nouns as those mentioned above. E. g. the use of the word that comes nearest to expressing the idea we desire to convey, if this word is the name of an abstract idea—of a mere mental conception—is unobjectionable, and is often the best expedient we can adopt in conveying our thoughts to another. But in the use of concrete nouns we can not do this. Suppose that I were telling another of a duty or service he owed to a given Being, and I should from forgetfulness of the name of this Being, direct him to render the service or duty to the Being, whose name came nearest to his in sound or signification, or who most nearly resembled him in person or character; the *resemblance* in any of these respects is not of the slightest importance: on the contrary, being only *resemblance*, and not *sameness*, it proves him to be *another Being* than the one designed, and therefore that by using his name I have defrauded "the Being," to whom the service or duty was due.

If we desire to ascertain whether the Chinese know GOD, we should not inquire, what the leading or principal *idea* conveyed by the word GOD is, that we may see if the Chinese have any word that conveys this principal idea; but rather ask, do they know any Being, who, from what they predicate of him, can be known to be the same Being we Christians call GOD; then the next question is, by what name do they call this Being, and if we can find, in answer to this query, the absolute term, which in the Chinese language designates this being, we shall have found the word in Chinese, that answers to our much sought

word GOD, when it is used *proprié*. The first point, however, is to decide, Is the being the *same?* it will be time enough, after this point is settled, to inquire for the name. If the being be not the same, no matter what the principal idea suggested to us by his name may be, this name will be but the name of a false god, and nothing more.

The principal idea suggested by the word *God*, (if what this idea is, could ever be decided) takes in only a very small part of the ideas, which go to make up our conception of the Being we call GOD; and a being, the meaning of whose name conveyed this principal idea, might want those physical attributes, *e. g.* self-existence, omniscience, &c.; or might fail to sustain those relations of Creator, Upholder, Sustainer of the universe, &c., or want those moral attributes, without which a being can not be truly and properly God.

If I am correct in what I have said above, then the first question for us to consider is, do the Chinese know any being, whom we can regard as the same with "the Being" we call GOD? That they know no such being was taken for granted, and not discussed in my Essay, because, as I there said, I understood this was admitted by all the Protestant missionaries in China. The discussion of this point has become necessary from the fact of its having been distinctly affirmed by Dr. Legge, and from the indefinite manner in which other parties have expressed their opinions about it.

To the position taken by me, that, "under these circumstances," i. e. the Chinese not knowing the true God, "we can only choose between the name of the chief god, and the name by which the whole class of gods in their language is known," I understand Dr. Legge to reply in substance as follows. "There may be no middle course between the alternatives, allowing the case to be as you state it; but I deny the correctness of the statement: the Chinese do know the true God. I rejoice to acknowledge in the *Shángti* of the Chinese Classics, and the *Shángti* of the Chinese people, Him who is God over all, blessed for ever p. 32. But even should we admit that the Chinese do not know the true God, 'there is a real *tertium quid*,' a course altogether different. God is not a generic, but a relative term; and relative terms are defined to be "words which imply a relation, or a thing considered as compared to another. They include a kind of opposition between them; yet so, as that the ONE *cannot be without the* OTHER. Such are father and son, husband and wife, king and subjects, &c. To these instances I have no hesitation in adding that of *God* and *creatures*," p. 5. "God does not indicate the *essence*, or express *anything* about the *being* of Jehovah," p. 24. "Should the Chinese therefore have no word

that answers to God, in having been actually used as one of the many names of the Supreme Being (i. e. the true God)," we should not under these circumstances seek for an absolute generic, but a relative term to render Elohim and *Theos*, because these words are relative and not absolute."

The first point made by Dr. Legge's argument, as expressed above, coincides with the proposition marked *a*; the other points come under propositions *b*. and *c*. We shall postpone the discussion of them until we take up those propositions.

Dr. Medhurst, in his "Inquiry," expresses himself very indefinitely on the point whether the Chinese know the true God or not. We have seen above that he acknowledges, at the outset, that he has been unable "to find any one term that fully answers to the words" *Elohim* and *Theos* "as employed in the Old and New Testaments." He then proceeds to mention the important particulars in which "the Chinese ideas of God fall short of the truth." These are, that the "creation of heaven and earth are not ascribed to any being," the highest being known to them, variously designated *Tien* 天, *Ti* 帝, or *Shángti* 上帝, is never said to be self-existent, nor described as existing from eternity." He then, after mentioning several attributes of the being styled *Ti*, proceeds to say, "There can be no doubt that, the Chinese use the word *Ti* in the same way in which western writers use the word *God;* that they ascribe to *Ti* such attributes, as were usually ascribed to the Divine Being by the Pagans of Greece and Rome." "We therefore conclude that, by *Ti*, the Chinese mean the Supreme God, so far as they are acquainted with him. They also use the word *Ti* when speaking of inferior spiritual beings, who have some superintendence over different parts of the universe, and who, in the estimation of the Confucianists, were entitled to religious worship; while the word was applied by both Táuist and Buddhist writers to beings, whom they considered as gods. The inference therefore is that *Ti* is descriptive of a class of beings, beginning with the highest and passing down to inferior divinities, and is therefore generic for God in Chinese." See "Inquiry" pp, 5,6.

Dr. Medhurst here clearly advocates the use of the word *Ti* to render Elohim and *Theos* on the ground that it is the "generic for God in Chinese." It is not so clear, however, what he means by the sentence, "We therefore conclude that by *Ti* the Chinese mean the Supreme God, as far as they are acquainted with him." This last seems a very unsatisfactory and indefinite phrase, and it is much to be regretted that Dr. Medhurst did not express his opinion more clearly.

In his "Reply to the Essay of Dr. Boone," on page 2d, he expresses the opinion that the Chinese may be regarded as Cudworth regards the Greeks, viz. as both monotheists and polytheists at the same time; that is, understanding the word *Theos* combined in the two terms in different senses; in the first, as conveying what he calls the natural idea of God, viz. an all-perfect Being, the Ruler of the universe; and the other, as alluding to certain supposed invisible intelligences, who were the objects of religious worship, but subordinate to one Supreme." On the next page he gives his opinion on what should be the object of search, as follows: Dr. Boone says that it is necessary to determine what we shall seek; and thinks that seeing the Chinese do not know the true God, we must either seek for the name of the chief god of the Chinese, or the name by which the whole class of gods is known in their language. To this we reply, that as *the true God was as little known among the Greeks as among the Chinese*, it is certainly necessary, in order to express *the idea of God* to determine what we shall seek; for Dr. B. thinks we must seek for one or other of the two things specified by him, viz. the name of the chief god, or the generic name for god. In our estimation we should seek for a name which will convey to the mind of the Chinese the *same idea* which was conveyed to a Greek by the use of the word *Theos*; if the same be likewise that by which the whole class of worshiped beings is known in the language, so much the better. Now it so happens, that the name used for the chief object of worship, or God by way of eminence, and the whole class of worshiped beings, was one and the same term among the Greeks: among the Chinese these *two ideas* are represented by different terms, which constitutes the difficulty."

If I understand his meaning, the view here expressed seems to be, that the Being called by the Chinese *Shángti*, answers to the monadic *Theos* of the Greeks, but that neither the one nor the other of these beings is the Being the Christians call *God*, i. e. the true God. As the argument in my Essay was based wholly upon the assumption that the Chinese do not know the true God, observing the indefinite manner in which Dr. M. spoke in his "Inquiry," where he seems to imply that the Chinese *Shángti* is to be regarded as truly and properly God, to draw out a full discussion on this point, I under the signature of "A Brother Missionary," addressed "A few plain questions to those missionaries who in preaching or writing teach the Chinese to worship *Shángti*." This paper was written previous to the appearance of Dr. M.'s "Reply," and was published in the Chinese Repository Vol. XVII., page 357. It gave great offence, I am sorry to say, to Dr. Med-

hurst and his friends; they called upon me, and insisted upon my retracting the position taken in that paper, viz. that those who exhort the Chinese to worship *Shángti*, violate the first Commandment. I took great pains to assure them that I did not suppose they intended to violate the first Commandment, but contended that, as the phrase *Shángti* designates a single individual, and the Chinese who heard them understood by this phrase another being than Jehovah, I must maintain that the Commandment was broken. To inform all who read the Repository that I have no intention of intimating that any of my Brother Missionaries designedly broke the first Commandment, and to divest the matter of every shade of personality, which unhappily, from want of sufficient care on my part, attached to the communication of a "Brother Missionary," I addressed a letter, under my own signature to the Editor of the Chinese Repository (see Vol. XVIII., page 97), to which I beg leave to refer the Reader. This paper I sent to Dr. Medhurst and his friends, as my answer to their demand for an apology, that they might see it before it left Shanghai for the printer's hands. From his note addressed to me on the receipt of this letter, it will appear that instead of maintaining that *Shángti* is the true God, Dr. Medhurst's habit and that of Messrs. Stronach and Milne was carefully so to explain their use of the phrase to the Chinese, as to prevent them from understanding it, as even *alluding* to any being with whom they were acquainted. His note is as follows:—

"Shanghai, January 13th, 1849.

"My dear Sir,

"Your letter has been read by Messrs Stronach, Milne and myself. We all think it unsatisfactory; principally with respect to the omission of any statement, that it was quite probable that the missionaries using *Shángti* for God would accompany it with such explanations as would in their estimation, prevent the Chinese from understanding the term as alluding to any being with whom they had been previously acquainted, but to one whose being and attributes are revealed in the S. S.

"Such statement was distinctly required by us, and we fully expected that it would accompany your explanation.

"I am, Dear Sir,
Yours truly
(Signed) W. H. Medhurst."

In the letter of 30th January 1850, Dr. Medhurst and his friends give up all the native terms as untenable, and propose to use the transferred term Aloah, as the rendering of *Elohim* and *Theos* in all cases. They

give us an account, in this letter, of the steps by which they were led to the adoption of the transferred term. They tell us p. 3, that on the reception of Mr. Weller's letter of the 20th Oct. 1849, "both parties took up carefully, "first the consideration of the proposition thrown out by Mr Weller, to employ one term for false gods, and another or the same term modified for the true God," and in the next place considered "the employment of the transferred word Eloah, to be employed in every instance in which the true God was intended, and *Shin* for false gods." These propositions were rejected "as unphilosophical." "For," they add, "in the First Commandment, in John X. 35, 1. Cor. VIII. 5, together with 1 Kings XV. 21, 27., it was felt that the same term ought to be used for God whether true or false, because the force of the passages mainly depends on the employment of the same term: this objection would apply to *Shàng-shin* also, if used for the true God, and *Shin* for false gods; and as there were many other passages of Scripture in which different terms could not be used; it was agreed that it would be better to use the same term throughout. pp. 4, 5."

After this they tell us, that, on a suggestion having been made, to put on the title page of the N. S an explanation of the sense in which *Shin* was used in said book, it occurred to them "that if *shin* could be used with a definition, so could Tí." Accordingly this proposition was submitted to their Chinese teachers, and upon being disapproved of by these teachers, the use of *tí* was abandoned by them, pp. 6,7. When urging the use of the transferred term, they tell us, "those Chinese who have become most familiar with our Scriptures and views of Theology, being at the same time intelligent men and independent thinkers, frankly confess that they have not a term so generic, and capable of so wide an extension as the one we are seeking for," while the same Chinese "conceive that when foreigners have to introduce *new ideas* they must expect to bring with them new terms." p. 8. They make the proposal to transfer Eloah, therefore, not merely on the ground that the Chinese have no word answering to our word GOD, as maintained by Dr. Bowring, but on the ground also that they have no generic term for *god* in their language. I will however give the statement in their own words. "To the general strain of Dr. Bowring's remarks, there can be little or no objection. One idea not touched upon by him is that the Chinese language not only wants a proper term whereby to represent the perfections of the true God, but it wants also a generic, which, while it is capable of being *used* for the highest being of which they have any conception, includes all worshiped beings,

and goes no farther. As they have, therefore, no appellative for God, in the Scriptural usage of the term, we must introduce one, and the one we propose is *Aloah*, accompanied by the following translation, "Whenever *Aloah* is used, it refers to the beings whom men sacrifice to and worship. They do not know however that the most honorable and without compare is only one Jehovah, besides whom no other ought to be worshiped. Jehovah is the proper name of *Aloah*."

In direct opposition to the ground taken by Dr. Legge, the six signers of this letter regard their transferred word as a generic term, "as the generic for all worshiped beings." They say, p. 12, "It will be proper to remark here that we intend to use the transferred word *generically*, as the representative of *El*, *Eloah*, *Elohim*, *Theos* and *Theoi*, whenever they occur, whether for the false gods or the true. Should any object that we are calling the contemptible divinities of the heathen by the same appellative, which we use for the true God; we can only say that we feel safe in following Scriptural example. The Apostles had the option of calling the true God *Theos*, and the false gods *daimones*, in every instance, if they chose; but they did not choose; and in alluding to the heathen deity Remphan, they have called him *Thoes* with the article before it. So in recording the false views entertained by the Lycaonians in regard to Paul and Barnabas, whom they supposed to be Jupiter and Mercury, the term *hoi Theoi* is used with reference to those beings." On p. 13 they say, "We by no means admit however, that, we cannot as effectually oppose polytheism by a transferred word, as by using a native term. We call our God *Eloah*, we use *Eloah* as the *generic* for worshiped beings, and we tell them that they are not to worship any other being that may be called Eloah, but the one who made heaven and earth."

From the above it will be seen that Dr. Medhurst and his friends agree with me in opposition to the two main propositions of Dr. Legge, viz. that the Chinese *Shángti* is *not* the true God, and that the word God is *generic* and must be rendered by a generic term. The only issue they make with me is that stated in proposition *e*; i. e. they admit that under the above mentioned circumstances, the generic name of the Chinese gods should be used, if such can be found, but deny that *Shin* is this generic name; and affirm, on the contrary, that, as the Chinese have neither a name for any being who is truly and properly God, nor any generic name of their gods, and the words *Elohim* and *Theos* must be rendered by a generic term, we have no alternative, and must transfer the original term.

Sir George Staunton, as we have seen above, admits that the Chi-

nese language has no word which fully and correctly conveys the idea which we Christians attach to the word *God*." He advocates the use of *Shàngti*, on the ground that "it has from time immemorial been employed in China in a sense *more nearly approaching* to that which we attach to the word *God* than any other, which at present exists in the language of the country." I am very sorry that, from the oversight of friends in England, I have never received a copy of Sir George's pamphlet. I only had the loan of the copy I read for two or three hours; I am afraid therefore to attempt to sketch the draft of his argument lest I may unintentionally misrepresent him. From a quotation in Dr. Legge's pamphlet, p. 35, I learn however that he only contends for the use of *Shángti* to render Elohim and *Theos* when these words are used *proprie*. His words are, "It is always to be borne in mind that it is only when the true God is intended to be signified, that *Shángti* is contended to be the most appropriate term. Whenever the *false gods* of the heathen *generally*, or any *specific* false *god* by name is in question, the word *Shin* is not only *proper* but *necessary*. On the one hand, the word *Shin* is too low and too wide in its acceptation to be applicable to the True God; and on the other, the phrase *Shángti* is too high and too exclusive in its meaning to be applicable to any purpose less exalted." From these extracts, I conceive Sir George maintains the views expressed in the proposition marked *d* above.

The "American Missionary in China" advocates the use of *Ti* 帝 with an adjunct, as either 上帝 *Shàng Ti* or 天帝 *T'ien Ti*. He does this on the ground that *Shángti* (see p. 3) especially in moral character *resembles* far more the true God than does any of the *Theoi* of the Greeks. He is a being, to whom no beginning is attributed, a being of perfect moral rectitude, and is represented as rewarding the upright and punishing the wicked; a being too of universal sovereignty and providence. The distinguishing *title*, by which this being and all other entities supposed to resemble him are known among the Chinese, is 上帝 *Shàng Ti*. This too is a *title* used by way of eminence to distinguish Deity, long before the Chinese were led by their pride either to assume or apply it to mortal man. This was likewise at a time when it is clear, from their ancient books, the Chinese possessed a purer theology and more correct notions of the Divine Being and character than they do now." This writer, it will be seen, only contends here for *resemblance* to the true God. On p. 27 he says, "That it is extremely doubtful whether any being worshipped by the Chinese is by them regarded as *divine*. At most there is

but one, the Shàng-tí of antiquity, and he worshiped only by the Emperor." From which he concludes that, "the Chinese mythology, in which there is only one, recognised at all as divine, does not contain, and can not furnish, a proper generic term for Deity. Not having the idea of such *a class* of beings, the language assuredly will not afford a generic term for such a class."

It is very much to be regretted that this writer does not manifest more care in his use of terms, and that he does not define the sense in which he uses the words upon which his whole argument turns: e. g. he answers the question "Is 帝 *Ti* used as a generic term for *Deity* by the Chinese?" by another question, viz. "Is it appellative for a class of beings regarded *divine*, and not the name merely of an individual?" Upon this we would remark, that the word *Deity* without an article is abstract, and that of all the words he could have chosen, that have any connexion with the point under debate, the adjective "divine" seems to me the most indefinite. We are all familiar with "the divine Homer sometimes sleeps," and I have even seen "the divine Fanny Elssler," &c. Throughout his pamphlet the "American Missionary" appears to me to confounded polytheism with what has been styled di- or tri-theism; i. e. a belief in the existence of more gods than one, using the word *propriè* in the sense of self-existent, almighty, &c., &c.

In the result he arrives at, the proposal to render Elohim and *Theos* by *Shàngtí* and *Shin-ming*, and in the admission he makes that *Shàngtí* only resembles the true God; and the doubt he expresses whether the Chinese really regard him as divine, his views approach nearer to Sir George Staunton's than to any other: they will be most suitably discussed under proposition *d*.

Having thus indicated, in general terms, the positions maintained by those, whose pamphlets I propose to answer, I shall now proceed to discuss the issues made between these several writers and my Essay in the order above set forth.

The first question for our consideration is that involved in proposition *a*, Do the Chinese know the true God, or any Being who may truly and properly be called God? To this question Dr. Legge answers, "They do: *Shàngtí* is God over all, blessed for ever."

To put this opinion in the most advantageous way for Dr. Legge, it may be thus expressed: "The Chinese do know the Being we Christians call God, they really know him, though only in an imperfect manner. The *Being* is the very *same*, the difference is in the clearness with which he is known." We agree with Dr. Legge that if this point can be made good, viz., the Chinese know the Being we

call *God*, we ought to take the Chinese name of this Being to render Elohim and *Theos* in all cases, though we should find that the Chinese have never used this word, as the general name of their objects of worship. We should only differ from him, in contending that we must seek for, and use, the absolute name of this Being, and not content ourselves with one of his titles, such as *Shángti*, which is a mere relative term. I should agree to this; for if the Chinese really know the Being we call *God*, and have in their language a name for Him I do not see how we could be justified in neglecting this name, or using any other word to render Elohim and *Theos*. We should be bound, I think, if these were the circumstances in which we found the Chinese, to tell them that Jehovah—the revealed God—was the same Being they had all along worshiped under this Chinese *name*, and that we now merely proposed, by the light derived from the Sacred Scriptures, to make Him more fully and perfectly known unto them. This I never would have denied; but when my "Essay" was written, I supposed that this was not contended for by any missionary in China; therefore my argument is conducted, from the beginning to the end, upon the supposition that the Chinese know no being who can truly and properly be called God.

Dr. Legge being the affirmant in this case the *onus probandi* is with him; this however he is so far from perceiving, that he very amusingly sets us the task of finding an instance in which *Shángti* can not be rendered *God (propriè)*, when in my "Essay," which was before him, I had already denied the Chinese had any word in their language which could be so rendered, which made it clearly Dr. Legge's duty to furnish us with the grounds which would justify him, in *so* translating Shángtí, in *a single* instance. This was the more incumbent or Dr. Legge, as Dr. Medhurst, in his "Inquiry," admitted, as we have shown, that *Shángtí* is never said to have created the heavens and the earth, or to be selfexistent; and in his "Reply," that the Chinese were ignorant of the true God; and as Dr. Bowring, who also wrote previously to Dr. Legge, so unhesitatingly affirms that the Chinese do not know God. Instead of giving some good and approved definition of the sense, in which the word *God* is to be understood when used *propriè*, (which is the only sense in which the word *God* is ever used as he contends, and in which sense *Shángti* corresponds to it) and using this as a test to prove that *Shángtí* is properly God, he contents himself with the following *petitio principii*.

"The proof of this assertion is to be sought by making the largest possible collection of examples, in which the expression is used, and

trying whether God will be an appropriate, or rather *the* appropriate rendering of it. The absurdity, of saying that 神 means God, was demonstrated by a process of this kind. Instances were adduced, which made it plain that to say that 神 has such a signifcation, only affords matter for astonishment. Will Dr Boone, or any other opponent of 上帝 descend into this arena? Let them bring us forward passages, in which it is inadmissible to translate *Shángti* by God. Till they do this, I must tell them, that they only hover about the field of conflict, and are surprisingly averse to "the tug" of the battle. Here is an *experimentum crucis*. I have taken their metal, and put it into the *crucible*—may I be pardoned the play on the words—and it has turned out to be base substance. Let them take this metal and subject it to the same test. If the two words 上帝 do not mean *God*, those who contend that they do are merely setting up a "man of straw." It is not asking too much of Dr. Boone and his friends, to walk up to such an object and handle it. Let them give it a push, and it will fall down at once. The slightest application will prove that it has no life in it. Why have they not done this, and adduced some specific examples in which *Shángti*, can not be translated God? The fair and just way of accounting for their not having yet done so, doubtless is, that such a course has not occurred to them. Having thus suggested it to them, and shown them by what an easy process they may achieve a victory—if it can be achieved—some of them will surely act on the maxim, *Fas est ab hoste doceri*."—pp. 26,27.

On the above, we shall only observe, that Dr. Legge wastes his labor, when he endeavors to prove it absurd to say that *shin* means God, as we have never contended that, by the *usus loquendi* of Chinese writers, it had any such meaning, much less that the word has this meaning *in all cases*, which is the only point that could be proved absurd by such a test. We contended that *shin* meant a *god*, *gods*; we furnished our definition of the sense, in which these words are understood, by heathen nations, from authors of high standing, and endeavored to prove by the tests thus furnished, that *shin* was the generic name of the Chinese gods: would that Dr. Legge could be induced to proceed in this orderly method in making out his proof that the Chinese *Shángti* is the being we call *God*, or that he is truly and properly God. If he will prove that the being called *Shángti*, in any one of the quotations he gives us, is truly and properly *God*, we will admit that the *Shángti* mentioned in all the other passages is God too, as we have no doubt that they all refer to the same being. This is *the point* that Dr. Legge should have proved, and it is so clearly his

duty, that we might content ourselves with this answer until Dr. Legge furnishes us with his proofs; but, as the object, which we all have in view, is to develope fully the facts of this case, and to have it correctly and speedily decided,—to contend for truth, not "victory" —I shall gather the best definitions of God from the books within my reach, and then from these definitions and the cosmogony of the Chinese, exhibit the reasons why I dissent from Dr. Legge's proposition, "The *Shángtí* of the Chinese people is God over all, blessed for ever."

1. "I shall inquire what kind of *idea*, or notion, scripture and Christian antiquity give us of one that is *really*, and *truly* God. If we trace this matter through the Old Testament, we shall find that the *scripture notion* of a person that is *truly* God, and should be received as such, includes in it *power* and *might* irresistible; perfect *knowledge* and consummate *wisdom, eternity*, immutability, and omnipresence; *creative* powers; supremacy, *independence*, and *necessary existence*. These are the distinguishing characteristics, under which God was pleased to make himself known, and it is upon these accounts that he, in opposition to all other gods, claims to be received and honored as God. These therefore are what make up the *scripture idea* of a person who is *truly, really*, and *strictly God*." Waterland's works, Vol. 2 p. 37.

2. Knapp says, "But the best definition of God,—the one in which all the others are comprehended, is the following; *God is the most perfect being, and is the cause of all other being*." Knapp's Theol., Vol. I. p. 156.

3. Cudworth says, "The true and genuine idea of God in general is this. A perfect, conscious, understanding being (or mind) existing of itself from eternity and the cause of all other things." See Intel. System, Vol. I. p. 297.

If Dr. Legge will take Waterland's representation "of one that is really and truly God," he must prove that the *Shángtí* of the Chinese people has "power and might irresistible; perfect knowledge and consummate wisdom, eternity, immutability and omnipresence; creative powers; supremacy, independence and necessary existence." Or if he likes Knapp's short definition better, prove that he is "a perfect being" i. e. a being possessed of all physical and moral perfections, and that he is "the cause of all other beings," the creator of the world i. e. of every thing extrinsic to himself.

But to this it might be replied, these are definitions of God given by Christian men, who had in view all the perfections of Jehovah, the revealed God, and it is not necessary to prove that every thing we know of him is predicated in the Chinese books of Shángtí, in order that we should admit that he is the same Being as he whom we call *God*. As was said above, the being might be the same, the difference only arises from the clearness with which he is known. It may be maintained by some that the monadic *Theos* of the Greek philosophers, is entitled to be regarded as truly and properly God, notwithstanding all of them conceived of matter as eternal. The consequences that follow, from allowing a being, who is not the absolute creator of all

things, to be truly and properly God, are such that few, we believe, will be found to contend for it. Even Cudworth in his great zeal to bring in the heathen philosophers of Greece as good theists, is obliged to rank those among his imperfect theists, who do not hold that God "is the cause of all things," as stated in his definition above given.

Of what he calls imperfect theism he thus speaks; "and though in a strict and *proper* sense, they only be theists who acknowledge one God perfectly omnipotent, the sole original of all things, and as well the *cause of matter*, as of any thing else, yet it seems reasonable that such consideration should be had of the infirmity of human understandings, as to extend the word further, that it may comprehend within it those also, who assert one intellectual principle *self-existent from eternity*, the framer and governor of the *whole world*, though not the creator of the matter."

"The American Missionary" and others also, build much on the traditionary knowledge of God, which the Chinese possessed in high antiquity. Let it be shown then from the Yih King, or the Shú King or the Shí King, that *Shángti* is God, according to this definition of even imperfect theism; i. e. that he is *asserted* in a single passage, to be self-existent from eternity, or that *he* out of preëxisting matter made the heavens and the earth and all things that exist. That those unacquainted with the Chinese classics may be able to form some judgment on this matter, we shall give the cosmogony of the Yih King from the pen of M. Visdelou.

"This book (i. e. the Yih King) informs us what they consider the first principle to be. *T'ái Kih*, 太極 (1) generated the two figures; these two figures generated the four forms, and these four forms generated the eight diagrams. This statement is very enigmatical, and therefore it is necessary to explain it. *T'ái-kih* signifies the *great summit (grand comble)*, a metaphorical expression derived from the roof of a house, of which the transverse part, which is at the top, is called *kih*, because it is the highest part of the roof. Now, as all the rafters are supported on the top of the roof, so also are all things supported on this first principle. We must here carefully observe that this first principle is said to generate *(engendrer)*, and not to make *(faire)*."

"The Chinese explain alegorically the two figures *yáng* and *yin* by the two kinds of matter, or the universal matter divided into two

"(1.) *T'ái kih* is the primary air, which by motion and rest, from which result heat and cold, moisture and drought &c., generated the five elements, which compose all things."

(2); but properly they signify Heaven and Earth. The four forms denote the perfect matter, which is divided into solid and fluid, and the imperfect matter, which is also divided into solid and fluid. Thus by the help of this twofold distinction of perfect and imperfect (3), the two kinds of matter produce four. The eight diagrams of Fuh-hí denote everything in the universe; e. g. the heavens, the earth, fire, water, mountains, thunder, and still two others, under which all the rest are comprehended."

"But the philosophers explain this axiom more clearly. The following is the account of what they, without any allegory say, viz. The *great summit, (T'ái kih)* generated the five elements, and the five elements generated all things. This axiom is the abyss, into which those philosophers, called the *Atheo-political*, have plunged themselves; for they pretend that this *great summit* is the primitive Reason (i. e. *Tau*), which, although without understanding or will, is absolutely the first principle of all things. They consider that this Reason, although destitute of understanding and will, nevertheless governs all things, and that the more infallibly, because it acts necessarily. Finally, they pretend that all things emanate from it as the term generate *(engendrer)* seems to indicate. These philosophers also do not hesitate to give to this reason the title of the ruling power; and as Confucius in the canonical book of changes [the *Yih King*] has, more than once, made mention of *Shángtí*, that is to say, the supreme emperor, and of *Ti*, that is, the emperor, and yet we do not see in any part of this book, nor in any other, that *Shángti* generated the matter, that is Heaven and earth, the philosophers conclude from this, that the title *Shángti* is not applicable to the primitive Reason, except when it acts merely in the government of the world. Hence it is that many among them acknowledge besides the primitive Reason, a celestial Genius *(Genie-celeste—shin*, no doubt) that belongs to heaven; at least the Interpreters of the emperor *K'áng-hi*, when explaining the diagram of the dispersion, where mention is made of sacrificing to *Shángti*, searching into the cause why, after the troubles of the empire were appeased, they sacrificed to *Shángti*, render the following reason, viz. that during the times of the dispersion, when the sacrifices to *Shángtí* were often neglected, the spirits of *Shángtí* had been scattered, and it was necessary therefore to re-collect them by sacrifices.

"(2.) The perfect *yáng* and the imperfect *yin*, the subtle and the gross, the celestial and the terrestrial, light and darkness, heat and cold, dryness and moisture, and all the other qualities of matter."

"(3.) Strength and weakness, or extension and contraction."

If M. Visdelou here gives us a correct account of what is said in the most ancient of the Confucian classics of the "first cause," how hopeless is the attempt to make out Dr Legge's point, that the *Shàngti* of the classics is "God over all, blessed for ever." So far from regarding him, as a necessary, self-existent, independent being, the learned men of K'ánghí's reign fancied, from what they read of him in the *Yih King* that the spirits of *Shàngti* had been dispersed because of their neglect to offer sacrifices to him during the troubles of the empire, and that they must be re-collected by sacrifices.!!!

We beg Dr. Legge also to observe that M. Visdelou distinctly says, that Confucius never affirms in this book or in any other, that "*Shàngti*, i. e, the supreme Emperor, ever generated the Heavens and the earth," and either, reconcile this with his position that *Shàngti* is God *(proprie)* or, show that M. Visdelou is mistaken.

Of the famous diagrams which are used in divination he gives the following account:—"It is time to pass on to the production of the diagrams. The (primary) matter divided itself into two, the two divided into four, the four into eight, the eight into sixteen, the sixteen into thirty-two, the thirty-two into sixty-four; here it stopped, for there are only sixty-four diagrams. This is in fact, a geometrical progression, which may be continued ad infinitum. But what is there solid in all this? what is this generation of elements? And what are the five elements which generate and compose all things? Notwithstanding two of them, wood and metal, certainly neither of them ever enter into the composition of all things, still they believe that they do enter, and that so thoroughly, that they even impress some of their qualities upon the human soul. For, this is a dogma, received from all the Interpreters, and even from the Ancients, that the five virtues, viz. benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom and fidelity, spring from the five elements; e. g. benevolence from wood; rectitude from metal; and so of the others. How much is there in all this, which only serves to estrange the mind from the knowledge of the true God, and of the first cause! The eight diagrams of Fuh-hi merely present to the mind eight things; viz, heaven, earth, fire, water of two kinds, mountains, and other things of like nature; but there is not *one word* about God, or the first principle of all things."

Of the immediate principle of all things he says;—"The Chinese philosophers lay it down as an incontestable fact that the *five elements*, viz, wood, fire, earth, metal and water, are the immediate principles of all things, and that the five genii *(shin)*, who govern them, extend their dominion over the dynasties, which ought in turn to possess the

empire of China; they likewise preside over the *five portions* which form the entire heavens, and the five seasons of which the year is composed." These Genii are the five *shin*, who preside over the five elements who are styled, Azure Ruler, Vermilion Ruler, Yellow Ruler, White Ruler, and Black Ruler.

While quoting the opinions of others on this subject, I will cite again a few passages from Dr. Medhurst's "China, its State and prospects" that were quoted in my Essay;—"There are in the works of the Philosopher (Confucius) some allusions to heaven as the presiding power of nature, and to fate *(li* 理*)* as the determiner of all things, but he does not appear to attribute *originality to the one, or rationality to the other;* and thus his system remains destitute of the main truth which lies at the basis of all truth, viz, the being of a self-existent, eternal, all-wise God." Again; "From these expressions about "Heaven", the "Supreme Ruler", and the "principle of order", we might infer that the Chinese *had some knowledge of the Ruler of the universe*, and honored him as such, were we not baffled by the very incoherent manner in which they express themselves, and shocked at the propensity to materialism which they constantly exhibit." Again; "No first cause" characterises all the sects, and the supreme self-existent God, is scarcely traceable through the entire range of their metaphysics; and yet the Chinese manage to combine the apparently irreconcileable principles of atheism and polytheism. 'Gods many and lords many' are adopted by every sect, and it is more easy to find a god than a man in China. Though they account *no divinity* to be eternal, yet they discover a god in every thing."

I quote these words as furnishing important testimony on the point now under discussion, and also to afford me an opportunity of commenting on Dr. Medhurst's observations on my quoting from the "State and Prospects" in my Essay. Dr. Medhurst had been a student of the Chinese language for twenty years, and was justly considered an excellent Chinese scholar at the time that work was written. There could be surely therefore no impropriety in quoting from such a work. The fact that it was written as Dr. M. alledges, in a popular style, has nothing to do with the object for which it was quoted, which was, to show that the Chinese were polytheists and that they did not know any being who is truly and properly God. These are *facts*, which one narrates according to the best of his knowledge and belief, whether he writes in a philosophical, or easy flowing popular style. Had I quoted this work, on any nice point of Chinese criticism, some complaint might have been made, but as it is, we think

Dr. M's complaint wholly gratuitous. My quoting all Dr. Medhurst's Dictionaries against him has been thought by some, I have been told, an unjustifiable *ad hominem* method of arguing; the reason for doing so I have distinctly stated in my Essay. Dr. Medhurst has a great peculiarity for a controversial writer, in not referring to his past writings, however much he may contradict what he has written before on the same subject. Of this he has given many instances since this controversy commenced. His Dictionaries, as I showed in my Essay, all render *shin*, a god. In a communication addressed to the editor of the Chinese Repositary, dated Shanghai Sept. 14th 1846. (Vol. XVI, p. 34) he writes, "You may say —— 個神, but that means a god, not the one God. *Shin* means without doubt the gods, or the beings of the invisible world, and not God, the only living and true Jehovah, who made all things." In his "Theology of the Chinese", written immediately afterwards, he renders *shin* always spirit,—not god, denies that it means god, and yet does not refer to either his Dictionaries or this letter, or inform his readers in any way, that he had formerly, yea, so very recently held the opinion he was opposing; nor does he condescend to mention a single reason for his change of views. This was the reason, to inform those who had to study this controversy, of this important fact, why I thought it incumbent on me to quote his dictionaries and other writings. If Dr. Medhurst had made his readers acquainted with these facts, I should have been very glad to have been spared the task of doing so; the facts I thought then, and still think, too important to the interests of truth, to be unknown. Dr. Medhurst, I fancy, both thought and wrote much more dispassionately on this subject fifteen years ago, than when penning his "Theology of the Chinese," and his "Inquiry." He was then shocked with the Chinese materialism, and found the Confucianists, and all the other sects, without a first cause, and counting no divinity eternal. In his "Theology of the Chinese" at p. 82 et seq., because he finds the primordial substance which dividing itself into its purer and grosser parts produced heaven and earth, called "the 太一, supreme one, and the great extreme, which including three, consists of one," i. e. Heaven, earth and man, which make one universe, he rejoices "that the Divine Being has not left himself without a witness in this dark land? thinks the Chinese must have derived these ideas by traditionary knowledge from the sons of Noah, and remarks that the phrase "including three consists of one" seems to bear some allusion to the mysterious Doctrine of the Trinity, which may have been derived by tradition from the Patriarchal age" He afterwards doubts the cor-

rectness of this hypothesis, but could not bring himself to blot out what he had written. The extreme improbability, that the Patriarchs were acquainted with the mysterious mode of subsistence of the Divine Being, we should suppose would have deterred any one from regarding such a supposition; but Dr. Medhurst was at that time carried away with the idea of proving that *Shangti* was the true God. Most persons will, I think, agree with me, that if the Chinese in their high antiquity really derived a knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity by tradition from the Patriarchs, they must have had a much better and fuller tradition of what the faith of the Patriarchs was than we have in the Bible, for certainly no man can deduce the doctrine of the Trinity from the Pentateuch, or shew from it that the Patriarchs held this doctrine. We think this a striking instance to show the importance of our being acquainted with the mood in which Dr. Medhurst is, and the point he is proposing to prove at the time he is writing, to enable us to form a just estimate of the value of any opinion advanced by him. We have in this instance a clear statement of the very materialism which shocked Dr. Medhurst when he wrote his "State and Prospects of China." In the passage quoted by Dr. M. from the *Lí Kí*, or Book of Rites, the *k'i* 氣, primordial substance, is considered as the great extreme, or first principle, instead of *Lí* 理, which is frequently, perhaps most frequently, so regarded; and yet Dr. Medhurst rejoices at the knowledge of God there displayed.

The difficulties in the way of regarding the Chinese *Shángtí* as entitled to be called God *(proprié)* are, to my mind insuperable.

1*st*. I have never seen any *assertion*, produced from any Chinese writer, that states his self-existence from eternity. Dr. Medhurst admits in his "Inquiry" p. 5, that he has never found such a passage, but seeks to do away with the effects of this fatal admission on *Shángtí's* claim to be regarded as truly and properly God, by adding that "we nowhere meet with a single passage which speaks of his origin." But this surely is not enough. Self-existence from eternity is not such a matter-of-course appendage to a Ruler, that it must, if writers only keep silence about it, be inferred. This is an inadmissible escape from the proof manifestly demanded of a point essential to the support of the cause of *Shángti*. It amounts to this, nobody has predicated this of *Shángti*, *therefore* we will infer it; or in other words, as the point is essential to us, we will beg the question. But to this we can not consent. The Chinese may never have conceived of, or spoken of any being or thing as existing from eternity, in which case the inference would be against the supposition that they regarded *Shangti*

as self-existent from eternity. Or, they may have conceived of, and spoken of, eternally existing principles, and not mentioned *Shángti* among them; in which case the inference against *Sháugti's* self-existence from eternity would be ten-fold stronger. This last is the fact; the Chinese have speculated about eternally-existing first principles, but *Shángti* is not mentioned among them. These principles are *táu* 道 and *li* 理, which are the same, i. e. the primitive Reason, destiny, fate, "which neither wills nor wishes, plans nor makes," and *K'i* 氣, the primordial substance, which "can settle and collect together, make and do."

2*d*. In regard to the making of the heavens and the earth, Chinese writers are not silent. They do not regard heaven and earth as eternal; they are made, and made in time; but *Shángti* had nothing to do with the making of them. Take as an instance the account given in the 49*th* section of *Chúfútsz's* Entire Works, of the making of heaven and earth. The eternally-existing principles are *Li* 理 and *K'i* 氣 He sometimes calls *Li* the *T'ái kih*, Great Extreme, and sometimes *K'i*.

"*Li* neither wishes nor plans nor does, 理却無情意無計度無造作; "it is without form or trace, it can not make or do any thing"; 無形迹他却不會造作; but *K'i* 氣 he affirms, as I said above, "Can settle and collect together, make and do." "*K'i* can ferment and settle and generate things." 氣則能醞釀凝聚生物也. The *K'i* or primordial substance he views under the two aspects of *Yin* and *Yáng*, i. e. as passive or active. Of the *Yin k'i*, or primordial substance, which has *vis inertiæ*, *Kwei* 鬼 is the *ling* 靈 spirit, or *p'eh* 魄 anima: and of the *Yáng k'i* or primordial substance which moves, or is active, *Shin* 神 is the *ling* 靈 spirit, or *hwan* 魂 soul, animus.

From these materials how are heaven and earth made? This primordial substance, so informed by *Shin* and *Kwei*, commenced revolving: but I will give the account of the actual making of the heavens and the earth in *Chúfútsz's* own words, closely rendered. 天地初開只是陰陽之氣這一箇氣運行磨來磨去磨得急了便拶許多渣滓裏面無處出便結成箇地在中央氣之清者便爲天在中央不動不是在下 "In the beginning of heaven and earth there only was the *Yin-ned* and *Yáng-ed K'i* (i. e. the primordial substance

of which we predicate *yin* and *yáng*, or passivity and activity). This one primordial substance *(k'i)* revolved, grinding round and round. When the grinding became rapid, then was pressed together much sediment: in the inside, there being no place for it to get out, it was collected together, and became the earth in the centre. The finer part of the primordial substance then became the heavens, and the sun, moon and stars, which externally around (i. e. the earth) constantly revolved. The earth is in the middle at rest; it is not below."

This scheme of the generation of all things is by no means peculiar to Chú-fútsz'; he derives it from the Yih King, the source from which all the literati derive their views on this subject, and who do not therefore differ much from Chú-fútsz' in their interpretation. To show the concurrence of other distinguished Chinese writers in his views of cosmogony, I will quote a few paragraphs from a paper by Mr. Gutzlaff, in the Chinese Repository, Vol. III., p. 55.

"The account given by the Chinese of the mythological era is less extravagant than that given by any other nation, though comprising according to some writers a period of many thousands of years, like the Indian kulpas. In assigning a cause of the existence of the world they are greatly at a loss. *Ignorant* as they are of *the true God*, they are carried away by their imaginations, and speak of a cause capable of moving inert matter by which the male and female principles, Yáng and Yin, were called into being, whose continual revolutions produced heaven and earth. For this they are 'without excuse,' though they never read that, 'in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;' but if, after hearing of his wondrous works, they deny the Author of their being, the Creator of the universe, they will be found still more guilty at his bar. The Roman Catholics have repeatedly given them an account of the creation of the world, but they have rejected this reasonable doctrine with disdain, and continue to believe in the absurd *pantheism* of the Yáng and Yin. In geography and astronomy, they have condescended to be instructed by foreigners, but to the science of all sciences, the knowledge of the Divine Being, they as a nation, have never given their attention.

"Hwái Nán-tsz', a celebrated Chinese author, discoursing upon cosmogony says, Heaven was formless, an utter chaos, and the whole mass was nothing but confusion; order was first produced in the pure ether; out of the pure ether, the universe came forth; the universe produced the air; the air the milky way. When the pure male principle, Yáng, had been diluted, it formed the heavens. The heavy and thick part coagulated and formed the earth. The refined particles united very soon, but the union of those that were thick and heavy went on very slowly; therefore the heavens came into existence first, and the earth afterwards. From the subtle essence of heaven and earth, the dual principles, Yang and Yin were formed. The joint operation of Yáng and Yin produced the four seasons; and the four seasons putting forth their generative power, gave birth to all the products of the earth. The warm air of the Yáng, being condensed, produced fire; and the finest parts of fire formed the sun. The cold air of the Yin, being likewise condensed produced water, and the finest parts of the watery substance formed the moon. By the seminal influence of the sun and moon, the stars were formed. Heaven was adorned with sun moon and stars; the earth has received rain, rivers, and dust."

"This is perhaps," says Mr. Gutzlaff, "the most rational theory of cosmogony the sages of China have been able to furnish. *The orthodox creed taken from the Yih King, teaches nothing but absurd materialism.* Heaven operates, Earth produces, and all things come into existence, &c. Sz'tsz' tell us that 'all that has shape, heaven and earth included, was produced by something shapeless, and that the visible world was produced by successive revolutions.' The *Wú-yun Lih-nien ki* is still more curious in its theory. 'When the primeval vapors and ether germinated, there was a commencement of things; heaven and earth were separated; the male and female principles came into existence; the Yáng scattered the primeval ether, the Yin conceived, and man was produced by their union. The first born was Pwánkú. At the approach of death, his body was transformed: his breath was changed into winds and clouds; his voice into thunder; his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon; his limbs became the four regions (poles); his blood and serum rivers; his sinews and arteries, the earth's surface; his flesh fields; his beard, the stars; his skin and hair, herbs and trees; his teeth and bones, metals and rocks; his fine marrow, pearls and precious stones; his dropping sweat, rain; *and the insects which stuck to his body became people.*"

These several schemes will be found to vary considerably from each other in details; but they, and all the schemes of cosmogony I have ever seen from the pen of Chinese writers, agree in being entirely godless. No "conscious mind, itself self-existent," creating the primary matter, or even out of chaotic matter, producing order by the formation of the heavens and the earth. The following short expression of the doctrine of the Yih King is that in which probably all the literati would agree. It is from the 49th section of Chú-fútsz's entire works.

"All things, the four seasons and the five elements, come only from the Great Extreme *(t'ái kih)*. The Great Extreme is the primordial substance *(k'i)* which, moving along, divided and made two *k'i;* that which in itself has motion is the *Yáng*, and that which had rest, or *vis inertiæ*, is the *Yin*. It (the *k'i)* divided and made the five elements. It also further divided and made all things."

萬物四時五行只是從那太極中來太極只是一箇氣迤邐分做兩個氣裏面動底是陽靜底是陰又分做五氣又散爲萬物.

This is the same scheme of making all things, as that referred to in the *Lí Kí*, quoted by Dr Medhurst and commented on just above. If this be the doctrine of "the learned" on this subject, they must be ignorant of the true God, for if *Shángti* stood quietly by and permitted the *Yin* and *Yáng* to grind on until heaven and earth and all things were made, we can not regard him as God *(proprie)*: and if he did not exist at that time as an idle spectator, he is not self-existent from eternity; and this is equally fatal to his claim to be regarded as truly and

properly God. If the Chinese were entirely silent about the making of heaven and earth, and clearly *asserted Shángti's self-existence from eternity*, it might with some more show of propriety be inferred that he who *rules over all things*, must have made all things—heaven and earth included in these 'all things'—but it would have been a mere inference carrying no conviction along with it; but as the case is, there is no room left for such an inference: *Shángti* is not mentioned among the eternally-existing principles that are spoken of, and the making of the heavens and the earth is assigned to the *Yin Yáng chí k'i* 陰陽之氣 the primordial substance of which *Yin* and *Yáng* are predicated.

If it be asked, why does not the cosmogony of Confucius in the *Yih King*, that of *Chú-fútsz'*, and of all the Confucianists ascribe the making of heaven and earth to *Shángtí*, I answer, the reason is, I fancy, that they so identify heaven and earth with *Shángti*, in their minds, that it would be to them like making a being the cause of itself; and as they never regarded heaven as eternally existent, and looked upon *Shángti* and Heaven as the same being, they never conceived of *Shángtí* as self-existent. Whether this be the reason or not, it seems certain that none of them ascribe the making of the heavens and the earth to *Shángti*. I can not believe in the existence of a traditional knowledge of God among a people, who had forgotten this fundamental fact, that God was their Creator—at least their Maker, and that of the world they live in. If *Shángti* is neither self-existent, nor eternal, nor the maker of the heavens and the earth, what then, it will be asked, is *asserted* of him, on which his claim to be considered as truly and properly God is founded?

The first sentence quoted by Dr. Legge is, "The majestic God *(Shángti)* conferred the just medium of perfect virtue on the lower people." In this whole investigation nothing is more puzzling than the predicating words which indicate intellectual and moral qualities of things which we regard as devoid of both: from our habits of thought and modes of expression, we can sarcely avoid regarding the names of the things which have such qualities predicated of them metaphorically, while the Chinese on the contrary feel no difficulty at all, and use them in their strict and appropriate sense. Take, for instance, the words just quoted, "the just medium of perfect virtue:" this, in Chinese, is called the *wú cháng* 五常, five cardinal virtues, which are given as follows: *jin, i, li, chí, sin,* 仁義禮智信 viz, benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom, and fidelity. From these five cardinal virtues, both men *and things, jin wuh,* 人物

obtain at their generation *sang* 生, and these constitute their *sing* 性, nature, and this *sing* 性 is explained to be *li* 理, which is one of the two eternally-existent principles, out of which heaven, earth, men, and all things were made. We have seen from M. Visdelou above, that these five cardinal virtues are derived from the five elements, viz , wood, metal, &c. What a strange mixture have we here! Things (*wuh*) have by nature, benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom and fidelity, and these moral qualities are derived from wood, metal, &c.

In the *Yih King* the matter is thus stated: "One *Yin* and one *Yáng* is called *táu* 道; the connection of these two constitutes goodness; the perfection of them constitutes *sing* 性, nature."

Of these terms, the commentators give the following explanation: "The ceaseless revolutions of the *Yin* and *Yáng* refer to the *k'i*," the primary air of M. Visdelou, and what we have rendered above, *primordial substance.*

The (*li*) order in which these revolve, or fate which determines their revolutions—is called *Tau*, the primitive Reason of M. Visdelou. Another writer says, "*Tau* has no voice nor form, and is invisible; that by which men act is *Táu*, Reason. One *Yin* and one *Yáng* are the *Tau* of heaven and earth; things (*wuh*) are by this generated, (*sang* 生 (and perfected."

"The word "goodness" in the phrase, "the connection of these constitutes goodness," is explained to be the work of transforming and nourishing things, "which is the business of the *Yáng*, the moving or active primordial substance."

The word *sing* 性 nature, is thus explained: 性謂物之所受。言物生則有性,而各具是道也,陰之事也 "Nature means that which things (men included) receive. It means that when things are 生 *sang*, generated, they have *sing*, nature, and that each thing is so arranged, is owing to *Tau*, and is the business of the *Yin*, the non-moving, or passive primordial substance." This *sing*, nature, is also explained by the character 理 *li*. Put all together, and it amounts to this: men and things obtain 氣 *k'i*, and thus they have 形 *hing*, form; they obtain *li*, and thus they have 性 *sing*, nature.

The great question is, what sets this primary substance, *k'i*, in motion? If you answer *T'ái kih*, then what is *T'ái kih? T'ái kih* is *Li*, *T'ái kih* is *Tau*, *T'ái kih* is *K i:* A most vicious circle, from which there is no escape.

If you say, "Heaven confers this nature," the 天命, the celestial decree is merely *li* or *táu*. If you say, *Shángti* confers this nature, *Shángti* is Heaven, and so you run round the circle again. No wonder that Dr. Medhurst found himself "baffled by the very incoherent manner in which they express themselves, and shocked at the propensity to materialism which they constantly exhibit."*

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* I shall throw together in a note here the proofs of all I have advanced in the text, and give the Chinese characters along with the translation. These extracts are all from the 49th section of Chu-fútsz's works, the whole of which section is devoted to the consideration of Lí and Kí.

1. "This Great Extreme is merely Lí, the principle of order." 太極只是一箇理字.

2. "This character táu 道 is the Great Extreme of the Yih King, or Book of Diagrams. One is the odd number, and belongs to the active primordial substance (yáng); two is the even number, and belongs to the passive primordial substance (yin); three is the odd number and even, added together. When it is said two produced (*sang* 生) three, it means that two and one make three. If we merely consider *one* as the Great Extreme, there is no need to say further that Reason (Táu) produced one." This puts an extinguisher upon the idea of a first Cause in the Yih King. 此道字卽易之太極。一乃陽數奇。二乃陰數之偶。三乃奇偶之積。其曰二生三者。猶所謂二與一爲三也。若直以一爲太極。則不容復言道生一矣.

3. "All things, the four seasons, the five elements, only from the Great Extreme come. The Great Extreme is *merely a Kí, a primordial substance.*" 萬物四時五行。則是從那太極中來。太極只是一箇氣.

4. "The Great Extreme is Lí—the principle of order; it is the active-passive primordial substance viz., kʻí." 太極理也動靜氣也.

5. "The Great Extreme is not a separate individual thing; if we speak of it with respect to the Yin-yáng—active-passive primordial substance, then it is in the Yin-yáng; if with respect to the five elements, it is in the five elements; if with respect to all things, then it is in all things; it is merely a Lí principle of order (i. e. inherent in all things.) Because it goes to the extreme (of everything of which it is predicated), it is called *Tʻai kih*, the Great Extreme." This excludes all idea of its being a first cause distinct from Lí and Kí. 太極非是別爲一物。卽陰陽而在陰陽。卽五行而在五行。卽萬物而在萬物。只是一箇理而已.因其極至。故名曰太極

From the inability to produce any proof that *T'ien*, or *Shángtí*, produced the heavens and the earth, recourse is had to passages where heaven is said to generate all things, and " all things are said to come from *Shángtí*, as men from their parents." But the Chinese phrase here used, 萬物 *wàn wuh*, never includes, according to the

6. " Should any one ask an explanation of the assertion that the principle of order *(lí)* exists first, and the primordial substance *(kí)* afterwards ; I answer there is no need to speak thus : but now that we know they are united, whether the Lí was first, and afterwards the Kí, or the Lí afterwards, and Kí first, all this is a matter into which we can not search ; but should we endeavor to form some idea of it, then we may suppose that *(kí)* the primordial substance relies upon *(lí)* the principle of order, when it acts, so that whenever the primordial substance is collected, there *(lí)* the principle of order is present : for the primordial substance *(kí)* can coagulate and collect, act and make, but the principle of order *(lí)* neither wishes, nor plans, nor does ; but where the primordial substance *(kí)* coagulates and collects, the *(lí)* principle of order is in it. Just as between heaven and earth (i. e. in the world), men and things, grass, trees, birds, and beasts, in their generation (生 *sang*) all of them require a seed, and certainly there can not without a seed *(omnia ex ovo?)* from nothing be generated a single thing ; this is (illustrates) the primordial substance *(kí)*, i. e. the *kí* performs the part of the seed. " With respect to the principle of order *(lí)*, it is a pure, empty, wide world, without form or trace, it can not make or do anything ; but the primordial substance can ferment and settle and *generate things*."

問先有理後有氣之說。曰。不消如此說。而今知得他合下是先有理。後有氣耶。後有理。先有氣耶。皆不可得而推究。然以意度之。則疑此氣是依傍這理行。及此氣之聚則理亦在焉。蓋氣則能凝結造作。理却無情意。無計度。無造作。只此氣凝聚處。理便在其中。且如天地間人物草木禽獸。其生也莫不有種。定不會無種了。白地生出一箇物事。這箇都是氣。若理，則只是個潔净空濶底世界。無形迹。他却不會造作。氣則能醞釀凝聚生物也.

7. " With respect to the constitution of man, his *lí* (i. e. the principle, or law of order which determines his form, constitution, &c.), is the principle of order *(lí)* of heaven and earth ; and his *kí* (i. e. the primordial substance of which his body, soul and anima—the whole man is made), is the primordial substance *(kí)* of which heaven and earth are made. The *lí* (inherent principle of order) has no trace and is invisible ; we must therefore look for it in the *kí*—primordial substance. In the world we have both the principle (law) of order *(lí)*, and the primordial and substance *(kí)*. The principle of order *(lí)* is the [primitive] Reason *(táu)* which is inherent in material bodies, and is the root of

usus loquendi of Chinese writers, the heavens and the earth; and this 1*st*, because 天地萬物 *t'ien ti wán wuh* is used as a periphrasis for the universe, but 2*d*, and still more conclusively, because the generation of all things, 生萬物 *sang wán wuh* is throughout the *Yih King* and all the Confucian classics, constantly referred to 天地

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their generation (or the principle from which they emanate). The primordial substance (*kí*) is the material—the substance out of which things are generated. Hence, when men and things are generated, they must received this *lí*, (emanation from the primitive Reason), and then they have 性 *sing*, nature; they must receive this *kí* (primordial substance), then they have *hing* 形 form."

人之所以爲人。其理則天地之理。其氣則天地之氣。理無迹不可見。故於氣觀之。天地之間。有理有氣。理也者。形而上之道也。生物之本也。氣也者。形而下之器也。生物之具也。是以人物之生。必稟此理。然後有性。必稟此氣。然後有形.

8. "That which is called the Great Extreme is only in the Yin-yáng. And what is called the Yin-yáng—active-passive primordial substance—is only in the Great Extreme. What people at present say, about there being, above the Yin-yang, a separate, incorporeal, shadowless thing, which is the Great Extreme, is incorrect." 所謂太極者。便只在陰陽裏。所謂陰陽者。便只在太極裏。今人說是陰陽上。別有一箇無形無影裏。是太極非也.

9. "The meaning of the Great Extreme just is, the extreme point of the principle (law) of order (*lí*); having Lí you have this thing, i. e. the Yin-yáng; priority or posteriority of order can not be predicated of them (viz. of Lí, and the Yin-ed-Yang-ed Kí, active-passive primordial substance); therefore we say, that when in the Yih King (or Book of Diagrams) we read of the Great Extreme, it means that the Great Extreme is in the midst of the active-passive primordial substance (Yin-yáng); and that it is not exterior to, or separate from the Yin-yáng. Now if we explain it (the Great Extreme) as the Great Centre, or regard it as having existed before heaven and earth, prior to the division of the great expanse, I fear it is not safe. That which is inherent in material bodies we call *tau*—primitive Reason; the subtance out of which things are formed we call Kí 器, the material; now to speak of the Great Extreme as Divine (*shin* 神)—or as a Divine thing, or to speak of it as existing before the division of the heaven and the earth, when the primordial substance was all united in one mass; these propositions we also fear have no basis." 太極之義。正謂理之極致耳。有是理即有是物。無先後次序之可言。故曰易有太極。則是太極。乃

t'ien ti, heaven and earth; *e. g.* in the *Yih King* we read, under the 乾 *kien* diagram, 大哉乾元萬物資始 "how great is the originating virtue of heaven; all things receive their commencement from it!" And again, under the 坤 diagram, 至哉坤元萬物資生 "how great is the originating virtue of earth; all things receive their birth (or consummation) from it!" On these two sentences, M. Visdelou thus remarks: "Hence it is that Heaven is called by the Chinese the Father of all things, who gives the commencement to all;

在陰陽之中。而非在陰陽之外也 今以大中訓之。又以乾坤未判。大衍未分之時論之。恐未安也。形而上者謂之道。形而下者謂之器。今論太極。而曰其物謂之神。又以天地未分元氣合而爲一者言之。亦恐未安也.

10. "If it be inquired what is meant when we read in the Book of Records, such sentences as the following, viz, that *Shangtí confers the virtuous nature on the people*;' that 'Heaven is about to impose great duties on man;' that, 'Heaven to protect the people makes for them princes;' that, 'Heaven having produced things treats them according to their capacity;' that, 'upon those who do good it sends down a hundred felicities, and upon those who do ill it sends down a hundred calamities;' that, 'when Heaven is about to send down some uncommon calamity, it first produces an uncommon man to determine it:' in expressions of this kind, is it meant that above the azure heavens, there really is a Ruler who acts thus? or is it that Heaven has no mind? (i. e. no controlling mind so that things happen by chance?) or is it merely, if we seek the origin (or cause) that according to the principle (law) of order (*lí*) it is thus? I answer, these *three points* have but one meaning, viz., according to the principle of order (*lí*) i. e. the eternal fitness of things—destiny, fate—it is thus. In the revolutions of the primordial substance hitherto, fulness has always been succeeded by decline, and after a period of decline there has been one of fulness, *just as if things were caused to go round in a circle.* There never has been a period of decline that was not followed by one of fulness."

問上帝降衷於民。天將降大任於人。天祐民。作之君。天生物因其材而篤。作善降之百祥。作不善降之百殃。天將降非常之禍於此世。必預出非常之人以擬之。凡此等類。是蒼蒼在上者。眞有主宰如是耶。抑夫無心。只是推原其理如此曰此三段。只一意這箇也只是理如此。氣運從來一盛了又一衰。一衰了又一盛只管恁地循環去。無有衰而不盛者.

and that the earth is named the Mother, who nourishes, nurses, perfects and consummates all things. However they can not be either the one or the other, the *alone*, or the first principle of all things; and besides, as we have already said, the absolute first principle is the grand summit, *t'ái-kih*, which generated the heavens and the earth. In the table of *Fuh-hí*, there is no mention in any part of it of a first principle of all things; nevertheless, many interpreters formerly took heaven for the grand summit, *t'ái kih*, and especially its virtue *kien* 乾; no doubt, because heaven is the most grand, most *elevated of all bodies*, and because in it the power and splendor of the first principle most shines forth."

"Heaven and earth unite, and 萬物 *wán wuh*, all things are produced." "Heaven and earth nourish 養 *yáng*, all things 萬物 *wán wuh*." "Heaven and earth exert their influences, and all things 萬物 *wán wuh*, are generated." "First, you have heaven and earth, and then all things are generated, 萬物生 *wán wuh sang*." "Heaven and earth are the Father and Mother of all things 天地萬物之父母." We must not suppose that heaven and earth are here used merely by metonomy for the producing power, because each does its part. We read 天一生水 *t'ien yih sang shwui* "heaven is one, and generated water; earth is two 地二生火 and generated fire. We also meet with the phrase 天地以生物爲心 "the heart (wish or disposition) of heaven and earth is to generate things." This is one of the instances in which we are quite thrown out by what I mentioned above—the predicating intellectual and moral qualities of material, physical objects. The first thought on reading this sentence is, that the words *heaven* and *earth* must be understood metaphorically; but if we will take the trouble to look up the native comment, we shall find that the expression is resolved into the famous word *li* 理: *e. g. Chú-fútsz'* gives the following explanation of the 天地之心, the heart of heaven and earth. 問天地之心。天地之即。理是道理。心是主宰底意否。曰心固是主宰底意。然所謂主宰者。即是理也。不是心外別有個理。理外別有個心. "Should any one ask whether in the phrases, the 'heart of heaven and earth,' and 'the (*li*) principle of order of heaven and earth,' if the character *li* does not mean *táu li*, principle, and *sin*, heart, mean Ruler, I answer, heart certainly has the meaning of Ruler, but what we call

Ruler, is just this *li*, i. e. the principle of order; it is not, that besides the heart there is this *li*, principle of order, or besides this *li*, principle of order, there is a heart."

And so in the *Yih King*, when we read that 夫大人者與天地合其德 "the great man with heaven and earth unites his virtue," we fancy heaven and earth must be used metaphorically, but the word "*t'ien* 天 heaven," in the phrase "heaven and earth" refers, the commentator expressly tells us, "to its form and substance." He also says, the virtue in which heaven and earth and the great man unite, is *Táu*.

The generation of all things is also ascribed to the *yin* and *yáng*, to the 二氣 *urh k'í*, the two primordial substances, which are the same as the *yin* and *yáng*, and to the 五行 *wú hing*, the five elements. While the generation of all things is thus ascribed to so many different agents, the generating of the heavens and the earth is never ascribed to *Shángti*. This generation however is ascribed to *Yin Yáng chí k'i*; as for instance in the following 天地但陰陽之物。俄舊是陰陽之氣所生也 "Heaven and earth are only a thing or creature of the *Yin* and *Yáng*; they are what the *Yin*-ed and *Yáng*-ed *k'i*, (i. e. the primordial substance of which we predicate *Yin* and *Yáng*, activity and passivity) generated of old."

To pursue this argument from the Chinese cosmogony any farther, we think useless. What Cudworth maintains is necessary to constitute imperfect theism, is certainly the minimum that we could consent, should be used as a test to prove whether *Shángti* is truly and properly God or not. That he can meet the requirements of this test is not pretended on *Shángti's* behalf by Dr. Medhurst, as we have seen, and I am persuaded can not be shown from the Chinese classics by any one. So far from proving *Shángti* to be God *(proprie)* he can not, judging from all that is predicated of him, (as far as I am informed,) be shown to be even a Demiurge. And to this assertion I beg to call Dr. Legge's attention particularly.

If Dr. Legge gives up the point of *Shángti's* self-existence from eternity, he can not abandon that of his having made the heavens and the earth, and still maintain that he is "God over all, blessed for ever," without the greatest inconsistency. This last point he must prove, for, if he fails to make it good, we must regard *Shángti* as one of those gods, whose doom was long ago announced by the prophet: "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens." Jer. x. 11.

Before taking our leave of this point, I can not refrain from quoting some excellent advice which M. Visdelou gives to those who maintain that the Chinese are worshipers of the true God. He says:—

"The Chinese are certainly in advance of other nations in the care and accuracy with which they have written their histories. Besides what we call history in general, they write also particular historical accounts of all things, amongst which religion holds the chief place.

"Each dynasty possesses a history of its religion. Thus it will not be difficult, instead of vainly disputing about their canonical books and about detached portions of passages, to gather from history, a decided opinion concerning the religion of each dynasty, and finally to decide if the religion of the Chinese be the religion of the true God."

If we act on this suggestion of M. Visdelou, and test *Shángti's* claim to be regarded as the true God by the historical account of the religious worship of each dynasty, the conviction produced on our minds that "the *Shángti* of the Chinese people" is not the Being we call God, is as decided as that derived from a consideration of their cosmogony. For an account of the objects worshiped in the *Chau* dynasty B.C. 1100, I must beg leave to refer the reader to my "Essay," in Vol. XVII, pp., 30, 31, 48, 49, 50.

In his "Inquiry," Vol. XVII, p. 175, Dr. Medhurst gives the following account of the worship of the present dynasty: "At the great sacrifice by the rulers of the present dynasty, at the period of the winter solstice, an altar is elevated at the southern side of the Capital, of a round form, three stories high, the top of which, or the principal place of honor, is intended for the shrine of *Shángti* or *Ti;* having the shrines of the Imperial Ancestors arranged on the right and left hand; while those of the attendant *shin*, such as the spirits presiding over the sun, moon and stars, clouds, wind and rain, are placed on the second story, and are honored with medium sacrifices. When the sacrifice is to take place, the shrine of *Shángti* is escorted to the high altar; and while the fumes of incense are ascending, the emperor greets the approach of the *shin* or spirit of *Ti;* after which he ascends the steps, and in the presence of *Shángti* and of the imperial ancestors, offers incense with three kneelings and nine prostrations: this done, he goes towards the shrine of the imperial ancestors, arranged on each side of the high altar, and offers incense with three kneelings and nine prostrations. The same ceremonies are gone through with regard to the offerings, which are first presented before the shrine of *Shángti*, and then before those dedicated to the Imperial Ancestors. When the service is completed, the spirit of *Ti* is escorted on its departure by music, and the shrine conducted to the temple, where it is deposited as before."

It will be observed here, that the respect shown to the imperial ancestors is as great as that shown to *Shángti*, nothing but precedence being given to him. They are elevated to the same height, and they, as well as *Shángti*, have incense offered to them, and are saluted with "three kneelings and nine prostrations." If the emperor had any, even the slightest, knowlege of the self-existent Being who is "God over all," could he thus elevate his deceased ancestors, the mere creatures of this Being, to equal rank and honors with him?

To illustrate further the Chinese worship, we refer also to a paper on "the State Religion of China" from the pen of Dr. Morrison. This paper was communicated by him to the Chinese Repository in 1834, after he had enjoyed intimate intercourse with the Chinese people and the officers of government for twenty-six or seven years.

"The Chinese have no generic name for religion. The word *kiáu*, which means to teach, or the things taught, doctrine or instruction, is indeed applied by them to the religious sects of Táu and Budha, as well as to the ethical sect of Confucius. But they do not apply it to *the State Religion*; for that does not consist of doctrines which are to be taught, learned and believed, but of rites and ceremonies. It is entirely a bodily service, which, however, tacitly implies the belief of some opinions; though to have correct opinions according to some prescribed rule or articles of faith, forms no part of the system. The state religion, as *practiced* by the Court of Peking and by the Provincial governments is contained in the code of laws called *Tá-tsing Hwui-tien* and in the *Tá-tsing Liuh-li* under the head *li*, rules of propriety and decorum, or rites and ceremonies, and in the subordinate division *tsi-sz*,' sacrifices and offerings. From these two works we shall briefly specify; 1st, the persons or things to whom these sacrifices are presented, or the objects of governmental worship; 2d, the ministers or priests who offer these sacrifices, and the preparation required of them for the performance of this religious service; 3d, the sacrifices and offerings, the times of presenting them and the ceremonies accompanying them; and 4th, the penalties for informality, or defective performance of the state religion."

"First, we are to speak concerning the objects of worship, or things to which sacrifices are offered. These are *chiefly things*, although persons are also included. The state sacrifices are divided into three classes; first, the *tá sz'*, or great sacrifices; second, the *chung sz'*, or medium sacrifices; and third, the *siáu sz'*, or little sacrifices. These last are also denominated *kiun sz'*, the crowd or herd of sacrifices; the word *kiun*, a flock of sheep, being used as a noun of multitude. In the following list, the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th, are the objects or classes of objects to which the great sacrifices are offered; from the 5th to the 13th are those to which the medium sacrifices are offered; those of the 14th and onward, have right only to the little sacrifices.

1. *T'ien*, the heavens or sky. This object of worship is otherwise called the azure heavens; and *hwáng k'ung yü*, 'the imperial concave expanse.'

2. *Ti*, the earth. This, like the heavens, is dignified with the epithet imperial.

3. *T'ái miáu* 'the great temple' of ancestors. This title is used to include all the tablets contained therein dedicated to the manes, or shades of the deceased emperors of the present dynasty. This triad of titles, *t'ien, ti, t'ái miáu*, always placed together on a level in respect of dignity at the

grand sacrifices, are also worshiped apart. The lines or columns of Chinese characters being read from top to bottom, dignity is always denoted by the height of the title, which corresponds in some degree to our use of capital letters. Inferiority of rank or dignity is marked by the title being placed one or more characters lower. Heaven, earth and ancestors, *as objects of worship of equal dignity*, are placed on a level, and one or more characters higher than other objects, as the sun, moon, stars, &c. An idea of this may be conveyed to the reader by the position of the words in lines, thus;—

Heaven, Earth, Ancestors,

Sun, moon, stars, &c.

4. *Shié tsih*, the gods of the land and grain; these are the special patrons of each existing dynasty, and generally located in the fourth place.
5. *Jih*, the sun, called also *tá ming*, the great light.
6. *Yueh*, the moon, called also *yé ming*, the night light.
7. *Tsien tái ti wáng*, the manes of the emperors and kings of former ages.
8. *Sien sz' K'ungtsz'*, the ancient master, Confucius, &c., &c.

"From this specimen it is apparent that in the Chinese state religion, the material universe, as a whole, and in detail, is worshiped; and that subordinate thereto, they have gods celestial and terrestrial, and ghosts infernal; that they worship the work of their own hands, not only as images of persons or things divine, but human workmanship for earthly purposes, as in flags and banners, and destructive cannon. That the *material universe* is the object of worship, appears not only from the names of those several parts which have been given above, but also from other circumstances. Thus, the imperial high priest, when he worships heaven, wears robes of azure color, in allusion to the sky. When he worships the earth, his robes are yellow to represent the clay of this earthly clod. When the sun is the object, his dress is red, and for the moon, he wears a pale white. The kings, nobles, and centenary of official hierophants, wear their court dresses. The altar on which to sacrifice to heaven is round, to represent heaven; this is expressly said. The altar on which the sacrifices to the earth are laid, is square; whether for the same wise reason or not, is not affirmed. The "prayer boards," *chuh pán*, are of various colors, for the same reason as the emperor's robes. In the worship of the heavens, an azure ground with vermilion letters is used; in the worship of earth, a yellow ground is used with black characters; for the worship of ancestors, a white ground is required with black characters; for the sun, a carnation, with vermilion characters; and for the moon, a white ground with black characters," &c., &c.

"The times of sacrifice are specified as follows: Those to heaven are offered on the day of the winter solstice; those to earth on the day of the summer solstice; and the others at regular appointed times which it is not important to detail in this sketch."

"The ceremonies of this grand worship of nature, this natural religion, consist in bowing, kneeling and knocking the head against the ground, or in Chinese *pái* 拜, *kwei* 跪, *k'au* 叩. In those sacrifices in which the emperor officiates *in propriâ personâ*, he never knocks his head against the ground. What he requires of the greatest monarch on earth, he will not give to the greatest, 'supremest' *thing* that he worships. The three kneelings and nine knockings of the head against the ground, he turns into three kneelings and nine bows. The *k'au* or the *pái*, i. e. the knocking or the bowing, seems to make a material, or rather a *feeling* difference in the estimation of his Majesty." *See Chinese Repository, Vol. III, p. 49.*

To show that the view expressed by Dr. Morrison is not peculiar to him, we shall quote again from M. Visdelou. "The Chinese philosophers," he says, "speak of revering Heaven, but they understand by

Heaven, Reason; *not that which belongs to man, and which* is but the effect of that, but the primitive, which is the first principle and the necessary cause of all things. To respect this Reason, is to follow it; just as we respect fate (*le destin*), not by prayers and honors, but by submitting ourselves to its laws. Fate *(sc. li* 理*)*, say they, is marked out by Heaven; i. e. by the primitive Reason *(sc. táu* 道*)*, which is the first principle of all things. In truth it (Reason) acts blindly; but the same necessity which renders it blind, renders it also infallible. It is *it* which is fate, inasmuch as *it* acts necessarily. This is the doctrine which the Missionaries (of the Church of Rome) have called the atheo-political." In his account of the state religion, he specifies the objects of worship as follows:—

"It is well here to observe, that the religion of the philosophical sect of China (i. e. the Confucian, or state religion) does not exclude sacrifices, which on the contrary are quite numerous. To speak here only of the principal or Imperial sacrifices, there is one for Heaven (*le Ciel*), for the Earth, and the ancestors of the emperors; for the tutelary spirit *(Shin)* or Genius of arable lands, and for the tutelary Genius *(Shin)* of the grains of the empire; these are sacrificed to at the same time. There are also sacrifices for the five principal mountains of the empire; for the five tutelary mountains, for the four seas, and the four rivers. They sacrifice at the sepulchres of the illustrious emperors of past dynasties, and at the temple dedicated to Confucius in the place of his birth, and to other sages and heroes. All these sacrifices are made by the emperor himself, or by his orders. Moreover when the emperor is about to march himself on any military expedition, he sacrifices to the spirit *(shin)* of the standards, and they stain the standards and drums with the blood of the victims."

No one, from this account of the state religion of China, as given by Dr. Morrison and M. Visdelou, can make out that the Chinese are worshipers of the true God; nor, we should think, after reading it, could resist the impression, that his imperial Majesty and those who join with him in this worship, are wholly ignorant of the being we Christians call God.

But, it is said, in high antiquity, the Chinese had much more knowledge of God than they have at present. Of this assertion I have never seen any proof produced from the ancient books that have come down to us. We have already seen what is to be found in the Yih King, which treats of physics and metaphysics, on this subject. Its uniform doctrine is, that heaven and earth generated all things; I say 'uniform doctrine,' for in the sentence quoted from

the 5th chapter of the 4th section of the Book of Diagrams, "The 帝 [Supreme] Ruler [causes things to] issue forth under the *Chin* Diagram (See Dr. Medhurst's "Theology of the Chinese," p. 234), the words "Supreme" and "causes things to" are added by the translator. The text should be translated, "The Ruler issues forth under the *Chin* diagram," which answers to the commencement of spring. Some interpreters understand the word *Ti* of *Shángti;* but the ancient interpreters, M. Visdelou tells us, understood by it the Emperor Fuh-hí.

If recourse is had to the Shú King 書經, the Historical Classic, for proof of the assertion that, in high antiquity, the Chinese had a purer knowledge of God than they have at present, we shall find the account of what took place on the occasion, when the first religious worship was offered in China, in the Canon of Shun, which is the second book of the Shú King. It reads as follows: "Shun then offered the sacrifice called *lui*, to *Shángtí;* he presented a pure offering to the six venerables Ones, he looked with devotion towards the hills and rivers, and glanced around at the host of *Shin.*" See Medhurst's Shoo King, p. 17.

What is this sacrifice called *lui?* The word means, to correspond to, and the explanation given of the name is this: "The *kiáu* sacrifice (see Ch. Rep. Vol. XVII. pp 34—42.) was the sacrifice constantly presented to *the expansive heavens*, at the border of the country; but this not being one of the seasons for the regular sacrifice, and there being occasion for a sacrifice to announce to heaven, (Shun's association with Yau on the throne) the ceremonies used were like those of the *kiáu* or border sacrifice; therefore it is called *lui*, a corresponding sacrifice."

Here it will be seen, the Supreme Ruler worshiped is "the expansive heavens," the accustomed sacrifice to which was offered at the winter solstice; which sacrifice, called *kiáu*, is imitated on the occasion of this worship to *Shángti*, who is evidently, merely "the expansive heavens" worshiped under the title of Supreme Ruler. Of this ancient sacrifice called *kiáu*, it may be asked, Was it so set apart to the worship of "the expansive heavens," "the Supreme Ruler," that no other being or thing was ever permitted to share it with him? The answer is, that the expansive heavens, the Supreme Ruler, has never enjoyed among the Chinese from the earliest times, of which their histories inform us, any such *preëminent* distinction. Following out the view presented in the Yih King of Earth's participating with Heaven in generating all things, so that they together became "the

Father and Mother of all things," this highest sacrifice was always offered to Earth as well as to Heaven, the only distinction between them being, that this sacrifice was offered to Earth at the summer solstice and at the northern border of the country, whereas it was offered to Heaven at the winter solstice and southern border of the country. Some greater deference to Heaven is no doubt designed in these slight distinguishing circumstances, but not greater than the Chinese would accord to the father over the mother.

I hope that those who find in the Chinese classics proof that the ancient Chinese knew and worshiped the true God, will produce it. I do not think tradition could have done much for Shun, when he thus worshiped "the expansive heavens," under the title of the Supreme Ruler, and added to this the worship of the six venerable Ones, *i. e.* 1. the four Seasons; 2. Heat and cold; 3. the Sun; 4. the Moon; 5. the Stars; and 6. Drought; and not content with all this Sabianism, descended to earth and worshiped the hills and rivers, and hosts of deceased worthies.

The *onus probandi* is with Dr. Legge, and the nature of the case is such that we are constrained, "for conscience sake," to call upon him to give us the clearest proof, before we can go with him. A mistake here is most fatal. While we have a single doubt that "the *Shángti* of the Chinese people" is God, truly and properly God,—the very identical Being we are taught in the Sacred Scriptures to worship—we dare not teach others to worship him. Where love and affiance are due, we must be cautious and jealous; for God is jealous. The wife must have no doubt that "her man" is her husband: if she have the shadow of a doubt, and yet lives with him, she commits adultery. God uses this very relationship to illustrate his own jealousy: we therefore say, "our God," the God we worship, must be Jehovah. If there is a single doubt that "the *Shángti* of the Chinese people" is Jehovah—the very same identical Being, and not merely the most like Jehovah of any of the Chinese gods—and we proceed, notwithstanding this doubt, to worship him, we are guilty of spiritual adultery.

We can not but think that Dr. Legge has a very difficult task before him, whether he appeals to the Chinese cosmogony, or the Chinese ritual, to prove that "the *Shángti* of the Chinese classics and the *Shángti* of the Chinese people is God over all blessed for ever." But if Dr. Legge should succeed in proving to our satisfaction that the being whom the Chinese designate by the phrase *Shángti* is to be regarded as truly and properly God, I would still object to the use of this phrase to render Elohim and Theos.

1st. Because *T'ien* 天, not *Shángtí*, is the absolute term by which the Chinese designate this Being, "as a whole and without reference to anything of which it is a part;" while *Shángtí* is merely one of the titles of *T'ien*, which expresses only one single, definite relation that *T'ien* bears to men and all things. This title is therefore unsuitable for rendering *Elohim* and *Theos*, because we must use the word by which they are rendered, to speak of Jehovah as he exists in and of himself—*e. g.* when it is used to speak of his nature, his existence from eternity before there were any creatures to stand in any relation to him, or to express the doctrine of the Trinity; and also, because the Being we call God sustains not one merely, but many relations to us, and therefore the word by which we render *Elohim* should be an absolute term—the name of the Being viewed as a whole—and not a relative term, which can suggest only one relationship.

2d. Because *Shángtí* is a compound term, consisting of an adjective "Supreme," and a noun "Ruler," and we want a simple, uncompounded word—*God*. These points will be best discussed under propositions *b*. and *c*.

(To be continued.)

ART. II. *Notices of Coal in China.* By D. J. MACGOWAN, M. D., *Cor. Mem. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

COAL deposits exist to a greater or less extent throughout the different mountain ranges which girt the great Plain of China. On its northern boundary this mineral is met with in numerous localities, on the Celestial Mountains, on the Mongolian steppes, and various offsets of the Altai range, the most productive of which are in Shingking and Shánsí. There are several smaller deposits in Chihlí and Corea. Unskillful mining, and the want of suitable means of transport, enhance the cost of the mineral, and limit its consumption. Except for culinary and manufacturing purposes, it is little used, the inhabitants trusting to furs and skins for protection from the extreme rigor of their winters.

The best coal brought to the Capital, is from Pingting chau in Shánsí. Anthracite of good quality is brought from Káichau in Liáutung. Chinese cosmogonists, drawing on mythology, gravely state, that in one of the Pingting mines the furnace still exists, in which Niúkwa fused stones for repairing holes in the heavens, and that it is the original

of furnaces now in use. Those deposits which have been mined for the longest period, with which we are best acquainted, and are the most productive, lie in the middle and southern parts of the empire.

That branch of the Himalayan range, known as the Yun-ling, forming the prominent topographical feature of the provinces of Sz'chuen, Yunnán, Kweichau, Húnán, Kwángtung, Fuhkien, Kiángsí, and Chehkiáng, has the carboniferous system superimposed on a granitic base through a great part of its extent, in numerous sections of which the coal measures exist, generally interstratified with beds of slaty clay and limestone. Those best known lie in the basin of the Kán in Kiángsí, reposing on old red sandstone and gray compact limestone, in close connection with deposits of iron ore. Those in the valleys of the Siáng, T'sz', and Yuen in Húnán, the western slope of the terminal ridges of the Yun-ling in Chehkiáng, at the sources of the Tsientáng, and the southern aspect of the same range in Kwángtung at Nánhiung, all present analogous geological relations. This vast carboniferous tract appears to be continuous in a measure, with that of Assam and Burmah.

The coal most in demand in central China is called "the Kwang coal." It is brought from various districts in Húnán. Súchau is the entrepôt for all that is consumed in Kiángsú and Chehkiáng. It is black, very compact, specific gravity 1.34, columnar structure, occasionally iridescent, and from the large quantity of carbon it contains is analogous, though inferior to the American anthracite; it burns intensely with a small blue flame, its ashy residuum being of a reddish color. That in use at Shánghái is of this description. It is brought from Súchau, viâ Chapú to Ningpo, where it costs $12 per ton, about one third more (the dealers say) than at Shánghái. Its consumption is very limited, being almost wholly confined to the manufacture of brass tobacco pipes. The best quality of this coal, that which most resembles anthracite, is well adapted for grates and stoves, being free from fumes of sulphuretted hydrogen, and is more wholesome than the bituminous coal usually imported from Liverpool and Sydney.

Numerous varieties are produced in the province of Kiángsú, slaty, cannel, bituminous, and anthracite. Portions of the latter are sold at Súchau as the *kwáng* coal. A considerable quantity from the mines in Kwángsin is carried over the mountains into the province of Chehkiáng. It is found abundant also in Fungching and Chingkiáng. The proximity of the coal measures in this province to ferruginous ore and lime, facilitates the manufacture of iron. Some of the

mountains, which support the subterranean treasures, afford disintegrated granite, of which the celebrated porcelain is fabricated. The furnaces in Kingteh-chin, the great seat of this branch of industry, are chiefly heated by coal procured from adjacent mines. The generic designation for the mineral produced from the Chehkiáng mines, is Kiángshán coal, the name of the district in Küchau fu, in the S.W. part of the province, whence it is chiefly derived. A large quantity however comes from the conterminous districts of Síngán, and Chángshán. The principal mines are at the Wúkwei mountain, near Kítung, and at the Chenkiá lake in the first named district. There are several varieties, that most valued is termed "wood coal;" it exhibits, where it is laminated with the fibres of the bituminated vegetable, a distinct, bright, conchoidal fracture; at all other points it presents a dull, coarse grained, segregated texture. Specific gravity, 1.29. It burns with some smoke, and cakes; emitting a small quantity of hydrogen gas, leaving light colored ashes. It possesses a much larger proportion of carbon than ordinary bituminous coal, and some specimens compare very favorably with that brought from England, and stored at Ningpo for H. B. M. steamers; yet generally speaking, the coal found on this continent is unfit for the steam engine, that from the islands being better adapted for such purposes. One of the varieties is called *iron coal;* "it is slaty, and can be ignited only with the aid of the bellows; another is the *Barbarian coal*, which burns rapidly, with a large amount of smoke, and resembles brown coal." The peculiar properties of other varieties are designated by their names as "stinking coal," "crackling," and "smoky coal;"—an inferior quality comes from one of the mines, abounding in sulphuretted hydrogen, and closely resembles the coal found near Canton.

The "wood coal" is generally reduced to powder, and formed into cakes with mud, and employed in furnaces for culinary purposes, and in chafing dishes for warming public offices. It is used to some extent by blacksmiths. Coal cakes are much used at Hángchau, in the liquor shops, in order to keep warm rice-whiskey on hand at all hours of the day; and in the tea shops, where boiling water is in constant requisition. The furnaces are certainly primitive, consisting of a few bricks making a close square or circular chamber, generally about four inches in diameter with a small grate below, and inclosed above. When the cakes are perfectly ignited by a few chips, and the smoke ceases to rise, the top is covered over with mud, through which, before drying an orifice is pierced half an inch in diameter. The vessel containing whiskey is then placed over the hole, and is thus kept hot

all day without further care, at a cost of a cent and a half. The same rude apparatus, with slight modifications, is in general use, wherever coal from its proximity is not expensive. Sometimes the brickwork is inclosed in boards, elaborately carved and varnished. Were grates or fireplaces constructed with suitable flues and chimneys, coal would be found a more useful article, be in greater demand, and the mines consequently be better worked. Even the miners find it more convenient and cheaper to burn the shrubs and grass of their sterile hills than the coal they dig from their bowels.

Twenty thousand tons of coals are annually brought from these mines to Hángchau, which at the hills cost $5.75 per ton; the baskets in which the mineral is packed bring the cost up to $6.50; and the expense of transportation to Ningpo raises it above $8 per ton. The annual production and value of the Chehkiang coal mines may be computed with considerable accuracy, and thus afford data for a national estimate, which may be thus given:—

Chehkiáng	60,000 tons.
Kiángsí	160,000 ,,
Húnán	230,000 ,,
Northern Provinces	280,000 ,,
Kwángtung and Western Provinces	100,000 ,,
Total	820,000 *tons.*

This portion of the mineral wealth of China may be computed at nearly six millions of dollars. The paucity of the supply is owing not to the poverty of the mines, but chiefly to the want of those facilities for mining, which the steam-engine can alone supply. Mines often, when they become most productive, are suddenly filled with water and rendered useless. In this manner, an immense number of shafts of great extent are unavailable. Provided with the steam-engine and the safety lamp, the Chinese miner could doubtless bring to light inexhaustible supplies of this subterranean treasure.

Chinese miners are extremely poor and rude mountaineers; it is said they often relieve hunger by eating coal, and if it be true, as has been represented, that pigs fatten on this mineral in some western countries, this report respecting Chinese miners is not incredible. For the most part, the mines are worked in horizontal shafts, though pits are sometimes dug. At one period, powdered coal was mixed with flour and the juice of dates, and burned in chafing-dishes for producing a fragrant perfume. For such pastils, charcoal has been substituted. This mineral, the source of so much wealth and power in the West, does not appear to have been known to Europe more than

three hundred years, but Chinese antiquarians refer its use to a remote period in their history. Its utility in the arts has been appreciated at Peking for more than a thousand years, as may be inferred from the encomiums bestowed upon it by a poet of the Sung dynasty, who lauds it as useful in the manufacture of iron implements. A writer in the early part of the seventh century mentions the article. The earliest notice of coal is in the history of the Hán dynasty, B.C. 202 to A.D. 25, where the remark occurs that Kiángsí produced stones, which were used as fuel.

To appreciate rightly the value of these vast coal deposits, extending from Corea to Siam, regard must be had to the increasing commerce of the Pacific, to the revolution which seems on the eve of taking place in the route of communication with western nations, and to the prospective greatness of the Anglo-Saxon states springing into existence on its eastern shores; of their capacity, aided with the appliances of foreign skill and capital to supply all demands which the steam-engine may make upon them, both for manufactures and navigation, there can exist no doubt.

Nor have these primeval forests been stored upon the continent alone; they abound in more accessible situations, isolated, as it were expressly for steam navigation, in the islands of Japan, Formosa, and Borneo. Before the application of steam and coal to navigation, a sceptical philosophy might have questioned the utility of deposits of this mineral in the torrid zone, and immediately under the equator, but the design of the Omniscient Artificer of this beautiful sphere is now obvious, affording another evidence that He left nothing to fortuitous circumstances, and another lesson fraught with instruction for reflective minds. May the name of the immense sheet of water, on whose shores Infinite Beneficence has scattered this mineral, indicate the peaceful purposes of all who traverse it, that both elements may contribute to the diffusion of commerce and civilization in fusing hostile races into a common brotherhood!

Ningpo, February 1st, 1850.

Art. III. *Men and things in Shánghái: scene changed; the spring propitious; early harvests plentiful; famine and beggary diminished; a forced donation returned; the asylum for outcast children dismantled; unburied coffins; small pox; fever; moat and ditches excavated; smuggling; the opium question; Lord Palmerston's letter.* Letter to the Editor from Spectator.

Sir: Since my last letter to you was written, the scene here has changed not a little,—in some respects for the better, but not in all. During the last two years, over the whole wide and populous plains of Kiángnán, there have been inundation and famine, accompanied by sickness, death, and civil disorders. Last winter formed the crisis in these calamitous events. It was a gloomy winter, a trying season to the Chinese. Badges of mourning were to be seen in almost every family; and then to these were added those of general mourning—first those decreed for the late empress-mother, and then those for H. I. M. The tonsure was interdicted; the theaters were closed; and no voice or instrument of music was heard in the land. Business went on; men bought; they sold; they builded; still everything seemed to drag heavily. But now the scene is changed.

This *spring season* has been most *propitious.* During the successive months of March, April and May, rain and sunshine, heat and cold, were so blended as to give great luxuriance to the whole vegetable kingdom. The droughts and inundations of the two preceding years served in no small degree to give rest and consequent fertility to the soil; this and the "harmony of the elements," have conspired to gladden the hearts of the husbandmen.

The *early harvests* are all *plentiful.* Fruits, vegetables, wheat, barley, pease, beans, etc., are abundant. The crop of wheat, it is said, will nearly or quite equal the total of the two preceding years. The tea and the mulberry, too, are yielding ample stores for all who are especially interested in those staple productions.

Famine and beggary have diminished, and in many places, entirely ceased. The great distress among the people, during last autumn and winter, was not occasioned by an entire absence of sustenance; there was "corn enough" in the land; but quantities of it being hoarded up, the price was beyond the means of multitudes. Consequently, to sustain life, they had no alternative but either to beg or to rob. Some did the one, some the other; and some both robbed and begged, as best suited their taste and circumstances. The government saw and felt the emergency, and acted very promptly, on the one hand taking

all convenient care to afford relief, and on the other to provide against civil disorder. Very stringent measures were adopted to prevent lawless vagabonds from banding together, and giving themselves up to plunder and rapine. Subscriptions were set on foot, and large sums of money collected for the purchase and distribution of food. In taking up these subscriptions, an incident occurred, the like of which I have never before known among the Chinese.

A forced donation was returned. The scale of contributions was a very extensive one, the subscriptions varying in amount from a few cash to a few hundreds, or perhaps even thousands, of dollars. The officers of government took the lead, themselves individually first subscribing generously. To encourage rich gentry, the government has a scale of honors, so that any person subscribing to a specified amount becomes thereby entitled to a specific honor. Among those who, under these circumstances, placed their names on the list, and became entitled to tokens of honor, which are conferred by the emperor, were two native gentlemen who signified, I know not in what way, that they made their contributions by constraint. This coming to the ears of the magistrate, he forthwith issued a proclamation, stating the fact as it had been signified by themselves, viz., that they had been forced to subscribe; and thereupon he ordered their money to be returned to them, and their names to be stricken from the list, that the signatures of such base and sordid men might not remain a stigma on the catalogue of the illustrious benefactors which was about to be sent up to the emperor. The efforts made by the Chinese, in various ways during the late famine to relieve the distressed people, present a pleasing feature in their national character. The motive operating, in this case, has been a complex one; and of the two principal ingredients—necessity and benevolence—I am unable to say which, if laid in the balance, would preponderate. With the Chinese, charity begins at home, and as it happens sometimes with more enlightened people, usually ends there.

The Asylum for outcast children, mentioned in a former letter, has recently been *dismantled*, and is being converted into storehouses. It has, so far as I can judge, answered well all the purposes for which it was designed; when I last visited it, on the 10th inst., the rooms, formerly containing about two thousand little children, were all vacated, excepting one or two: in these there were twenty-five or thirty poor and feeble orphans, or, at least, if not orphans, such as no parents or guardians came forward to claim.

Unburied coffins have recently attracted the notice of the local

authorities. These, always a public nuisance in this part of the empire, have caused trouble of late by being made a means of claiming a right to the soil. The process seems to be this: a coffin is carried out of the city, and laid down on any unoccupied site that is found most convenient: when occasion requires, a second, a third, or a fourth follow; by and by boundary marks are set up, and the ground included is claimed as sacred to the tenants of the coffins. Quarrels and lawsuits about the right of soil follow.

Small pox has proved fatal in numerous cases among the Chinese, and in one at least among the foreign residents of Shánghái. There appears to be a want of proper attention to its almost certain antidote, vaccination. Dr. Lockhart has done the utmost in his power to bring this within the reach of the people, but multitudes seem not to care whether it be secured by them and their children or not.

Cases of fever, too, have been unusually frequent and fatal, considering that it is yet but the beginning of the hot season. This is doubtless owing to a variety of causes; while the rains have not been wanting, there have been an unusual number of hot days, and large numbers of both men and women, called into the fields to labor, have been much exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. Laboring in this manner by day, and at night retiring to their low, damp hovels, very many of the poor laborers have sickened and died.

The recent *excavation of the moat and ditches* of the city, it is thought by many and with good reason, has been the principal cause of the present sickness. By proper management, the water channels of the city might be made to contribute largely to the convenience and health of the inhabitants; for want of care and by mismanagement, however, they sometimes become nuisances: such, and in a remarkable degree, have they been made at the present juncture, just at the opening of the hot season. Instead of being kept always open and daily flooded and washed by each tide—as might easily be done—the moat and all the ditches are allowed to fill and clog and stagnate: when in this state some six or eight weeks ago, the magistrate and his friends undertook their excavation. What a delving and carrying out of mud and filth has there been! Not only have all these sinks of pollution been stirred up from their lowest depths, but the whole black and sickening contents thereof have been poured out like lava upon the city walls, and on every vacant patch of ground that could be found; both in the city and along the banks of the river. *Horribile visu!*

Some new features have been exhibited in the phases of society here, or perhaps I should say, old features have come up under new as-

pects; *smuggling* is no new thing in China. Nothing in all the land seems better regulated, or to be conducted more systematically than this branch of business. How far its tariff of duties has been reduced to writing no one can tell; indeed every tariff in China is merely nominal, as different from the reality as can well be imagined. One of these new features, the only one I will now allude to, seems to have resulted from the stolidity of the functionaries connected with the native custom-house department. Because a foreign vessel happened to be furnished with a certain kind of machinery, her owners must be subjected to any amount of annoyance the custom-house people might see fit to impose. The managers of the steamer were not to be wronged in this way, nor were those who wished to ship cargo by her; and accordingly they arranged their own business. The amount of duties lost on the one side, and saved on the other, by this measure, must, some persons say, be reckoned by thousands of dollars!

The *opium question* is being mooted anew; some say more severe restrictions are to be imposed, while those who have better means of information declare most confidently, that erelong, it will be legalized, and a moderate imperial duty imposed. I see no prospect of the old policy being tried again; the last attempt cost a three years' war, and millions of treasure; and I do not believe there are to be found many who will recommend a repetition of the old experiment. It is not hard to believe, on the other hand, that his majesty's ministers—seeing they can neither stop the coming in of the drug, nor the oozing out of the "fine-silver," so long as the old law stands,—may very soon recommend that "opium be admitted as an article of medicine," and so much duty per catty paid, as was done in the reign of Kienlung.

"*Pa's*" *letter to the court of Peking* is causing no small excitement both here and at the capital. Those who delight in rumors have repeatedly had the satisfaction of hearing that the tíutái of Shánghái has committed suicide; still, so late as last evening, when he returned from the provincial city, he was enjoying his usual health. It is true, however, that some of the people, hearing of the steamer's going to the north, have become alarmed and left the city. The number of these must be very small. An imperial manifesto, said to have been obtained from one of the public offices in the city, rates the barbarians roundly for coming up to Tientsin with a letter, and admonishes the people on the coast to remain undisturbed. Canton, his majesty says, is the channel through which such communications should be sent; he says also that while the ostensible object of the visit is to congra-

tulate the court, the real design is to spy out the condition of the country.

The young emperor's policy, especially so far as foreign nations are concerned, is yet a matter of speculation. The fortifications at the mouth of the Pei ho are said to have been greatly augmented and strengthened during the present year. Within the narrow precincts of the *Yuen-ming Yuen*, there are are no less than eight thousand armed men. Great numbers of the troops at the north have been furnished with European arms; and the Chinese government evidently thinks itself much better prepared now than it was in the last war to match and overcome the barbarians. This may be true; and it is equally true, also, that the British government is much better acquainted with China, and in case of a second contest, would know when, and where and how to touch the weak points of the empire. Both governments, however, will rue the day, if it ever comes, when they "go to war." Still such a calamity may come very soon. If Pá's letter has been refused by Sü, by the authorities of Shánghái, and by the imperial officers at Tientsin, will the Queen deem all this as friendly to her foreign Secretary? And if she does not, what will she and her Cabinet propose to do? Will the "peace" concluded at Nánking, and in due course solemnly ratified, be "*eternally preserved?*"

ART. IV. *Topography of the province of Sz'chuen: description of its towns, productions, inhabitants, &c. (Continued from page* 327.)

IV. *The department of Shunking* lies in the fertile valleys of the Kiáling river and its tributaries, having Páuning fú on the north, Chungking fú on the south, Suiting fú on the east, and Tungchuen fú west; the chief town is in the same latitude as Ningpo. The region is well watered, and the plains between the hills amply repay the labors of the husbandmen, producing large quantities of silk as well as grains and fruits; the department is rather celebrated for its oranges. The mountains called Nán-ming furnish considerable salt, procured from pits in the same manner as previously described.

V. *The department of Süchau* lies on the Yunnán frontier along the Yángtsz' kiáng, between Tungking fú and Ningyuen fú, in one of

the most fertile parts of the province. The chief town lies at the junction of the R. Min with the Yángtsz', and consequently all the trade of the capital and other large cities passes through it. The variety of its fruits and productions is great, and the commerce centred in its towns renders this department among the most important in the province. The surface of the country is hilly, and even mountainous in some parts, but the genial climate enables the inhabitants to avail of all its natural capabilities.

VI. *The department of Chungking* is the next to Chingtú in importance, and exceeds it in commercial activity. Its western borders adjoin the preceding, and reach to Kweichau on the south, while on the north it is conterminous with Shunking fú, thus comprising an area of nearly 20,000 square miles of the best lands, through which the Yángtsz' rolls on its way to the ocean. A visitor in 1798 thus describes the chief town: "Chungking is the best fortified by nature and art of all the cities in this region. Built on a hill, it is defended on one side by steep rocks, and lies at the junction of a large river (the Kiáling) which here joins the Yángtsz' from the north; these two streams bathing its walls, form its strongest defenses, especially on the northern side. The walls are solidly built, and fully able to resist the cannon of the country; one of the heavy guns on them appears to be of European manufacture. The authorities have placed a great store of pots full of lime near the gates, to be thrown down on an enemy to blind the attacking party. This city is regarded with reason as one of the safest in this region, and in times of trouble it is the refuge of the people from the surrounding country." Another visitor estimates its population at a million of souls. The fruit called lichi, and the mowtan flower *(Pæonia mowtan)* from this region, are famous for their excellence, but the vegetable, animal and mineral productions are generally abundant and of good quality. Trunks and baskets of bamboo are made here, which are much prized.

Mines of coal occur in this department, the mode of working which is thus noticed by a traveler:—

"The passage by which the mines are entered is frequently over a league in length, usually very narrow, and almost horizontal. I have seen many of these pits of which the opening was not over eighteen inches or two feet square, a complete fox-hole, into which you would never think a man would venture to introduce himself.' The miners penetrate into these gloomy caverns, crawling and groping their way like beasts of burden; they get 80 or 100 pounds of coal each time, with which they fill a long kind of box guarded with iron. It is often difficult to drag this box on wheels from the inequality of the ground, and then they haul it along by main strength, for the Chinese are very ignorant of mechanics. To avoid hurting themselves in

these rough paths and light their way in this darkness, the miners bind a sort of wooden clamp on the forearm, and tie a lantern to their foreheads; for this severe toil, the daily wages are about ten sous.

"The varnish tree is also found in this region; the sap is drawn off by making incisions in the trunk of the tree, and catching it in proper vessels. At first it is of a yellowish white color, but exposure changes it to a reddish tint, and after a while it becomes black. Many persons can not endure the odor, nor even look at this sap, and if they come too near while it is liquid, their skins shortly after swell, and are covered with pustules and ulcers. This does not generally happen, however, and I have myself often stood by it, and even touched it, without any ill effects."

VII. *The department of Kweichau* comprises the eastern part of Sz'chuen beyond Suiting chau, along the Great river, and consequently enjoys great advantages for trade. Its chief town lies at the junction of the Fanshwui ho 分水河 with the Yángtsz', and a transit duty is here levied on merchandise passing the city, which renders it a place of great trade. The bottom lands in this prefecture are among the richest in the province, and famed for their oranges; but the mountainous districts adjoining Shensí furnish little food for man, and are said to be inhabited by a half savage class, greatly inferior to their countrymen in the lowlands.

VIII. *The department of Suiting* formerly belonged to the preceding under the name of Táh chau; and is but a small prefecture lying between it and Shunking fú along the banks of the Kü ho 渠河 and its branches, the Tungchuen kiáng 通川江 and Tangtsz' ho 磴子河. The surface is rough, and only partially cultivated; the mountains furnish musk, and salt is obtained from pits dug in them; galls, varnish, and maple timber, are also mentioned among the productions.

IX. *The department of Lung-ngán* is in the N.W. of the province along the borders of Kánsuh, west of Páuning fú, and east of Sungpwán ting and Mau chau. The region included in this prefecture was formerly very large, inhabited by tribes of aborigines known under the general designation of Sifán, and the obedience they still pay the Chinese depends not a little on the treatment they receive; disturbances frequently arise, and a large number of military posts are maintained, the most important of which have been set off from it. Shihtsiuen hien, on the Shih-meh kí 石峯溪 or Stone-honey creek, is famous as the birthplace of the Great Yü, founder of the Hiá dynasty. The chief town lies on the headwaters of the Pei R. 涪江, one of the main branches of the Kiáling. The Min Mts. are in the north, and the country is generally rough; tin, quicksilver, tea, and deer's horns are enumerated among the products.

X. *The department of Tungchuen* lies south of the preceding, between Chingtú fú on the west, and Shunking fú on the east, in the middle and best settled parts of the province. All its towns are in the valleys of the river Pei, and the inhabitants enjoy a pleasant climate in the midst of fertile fields. After the conquest, many of the soldiers of Shunchí were provided with lands in this region, and their descendants are still required to do service. Salt, iron, copper, and sugar are produced.

XI. *The department of Ningyuen* has been set off from Yáchau fú, and comprises all the southwestern corner of the province which runs down into Yunnán. The chief town lies on the Ngán-ning R. 安寧河, a large tributary of the Yálung R., and its prefect exercises jurisdiction over many *tú-fú*, or locally governed towns, between which are several garrisoned posts. An intendant of circuit over the west of the province assists him.

XII. *The department of Yáchau*, the largest in the province, comprises all west of Chingtú fú and Kiáting fú, as far as Tibet; its rulers exercise a mixed civil and military jurisdiction over the Chinese and aborigines dispersed throughout its extent, aided by numerous garrisons. The chief town lies on the Tsing-í kiáng 青衣江 or Green-clothes R., in a well cultivated district; the *ting* district of Tá-tsien-lú west of it on the Lú ho 爐河 is the headquarters of the military authorities, who are, on account of the importance of their trust, required to report directly to the Board of War at Peking. Some of the locally governed towns in this commandery are large trading places, and not a few are wholly independent. Patáng 巴塘 and Lítáng 裏塘 are among the most noted; the former is on the Yángtsz' at the head of navigation in the S.W. corner of Sz'chuen, where the great road comes in from Tibet; the latter is on the road eastward to Tatsien-lú. The resources and peace of this department are far less than they might be, if the relations between the Chinese and the aborigines were better arranged. The Lolo, to the number of 350,000 souls, occupy the S.W., and the Sifán the N.W. of the prefecture; the Romanists number many converts among the former, who seem to be much gentler in their disposition than the latter, exhibiting many customs, and possessing many points of resemblance in language, dress, and government to the hill races in Assam and Burmah.

XIII. *The inferior department of Süyung* has been set off from Süchau fú, and includes a corner which runs down south of the Yángtsz' between Yunnán and Kweichau. Being a frontier town, it possesses more political than commercial importance.

XIV.—XVIII. *The inferior ting departments of Shihchú, Táiping, Sungpwán, Tsáh-kuh and Máukung*, have all been erected into separate jurisdictions in order to exercise a better control over the growing population. The first named is situated south of the Yángtsz' on the borders of Húpeh, north of Yúyáng chau. The second formerly belonged to Kweichau fú, and lies on the borders of Shensí in a mountainous and sparsely settled region. Sungpwán ting once belonged to Lungngán fú, and is important only as a military post, having control over an immense tract in the northwest of the province; the town lies on the R. Mien, not far from Lungngán fú. Tsáhkuh is south of it on the same river, and its officers superintend a large number of forts and native towns, scattered over the regions on the base of the Peh-ling. The last, Máukung, lies south of the preceding, and the town nearly west of the provincial capital, and exercises sway over the aborigines to the frontier. These three last are all unimportant towns, except as garrisons. Their climate and productions resemble that of the adjacent prefectures on the east, but of the number and condition of the inhabitants very little is known.

Maukung ting comprises the country formerly occupied by the petty kingdoms of Great and Little Kinchuen, so called by the Chinese from two streams running through them. The conquest of these Miáutsz' by Akwei in 1775 is described by Amiot in the Mémoires, tom. III, page 387, &c., and from the Chinese account there given it is plain that the inhabitants fought for their lives. The Manchu general learned that the sterility which reigned on the mountains, the steep rocks and frightful precipices met at every turn, the deep gorges and dense forests, and absence of roads, rendered them inaccessible to all besides the natives, and that an invading army must be divided into small detachments, and carry everything itself. Urged on by his master, he made the attack, and by his skill and bravery overcame every natural and human obstacle. The mountaineers bravely held every pass; even the women armed themselves; they rolled down stones on the Manchus, and destroyed them by guns placed in ambush, as well as open attack, but all their resistance was unavailing, and Sonom, the king, capitulated on the promise by Kienlung of sparing his life if he surrendered, but the royal autocrat murdered him and his family at Peking in the presence of the army. The aborigines were nearly exterminated, and Chinese settlers were brought in to occupy the land with such rapidity that in 1778, several towns had been built, and the whole region quieted.

XIX. *The inferior department of Tsz'* lies between Chingtú and Süchau fú, easterly; it was once attached to the former, and its chief town lies on the Chung R. 沖江, S.E. of the provincial capital.

XX. *The inferior department of Mien* was also partitioned from Chingtú fú, but is situated farther north, between Lungngán and Tung chuen in the banks of the R. Pei, in a rich, accessible, and salubrious part of the province. In their productions, these departments resemble those adjacent.

XXI. *The inferior department of Máu* lies north of Chingtú, between the preceding and Tsáhkuh ting, on the east bank of the R. Min. It formerly belonged to Chingtú fú, and its chief town is about 60 miles from the capital.

XXII. *The inferior department of Yúyáng* occupies the extreme southeastern part of Sz'chuen, adjoining the provinces of Honán, Húpeh, and Kweichau, in a rugged and unimportant part of the province; most of the department is in the valleys of the Wú kiáng 烏江 or Black R.; a range of high hills divides them from Húpeh, forming at the same time the boundary of the province.

XXIII. *The inferior department of Chung* formerly belonged to Chungking fú; it is situated east of that department, and adjoining Kweichau, on the north bank of the Yángtsz' kiáng. It is in Fungtú hien in this department, that the *ho-tsing* or fire wells occur, and which have become so generally known among the Chinese people, that the name *Fungtú* has come to mean hell; the following account of this curiosity by Rev. M. Imbert will explain the application. These subterranean fires sometimes produce frightful earthquakes; one is mentioned as occurring in 1788, which destroyed a hundred thousand persons, and many towns.

"On the sixth of Jan, 1827, I arrived at Tsé-liú-tsing (i. e. Running-Water wells) after traveling eighteen leagues in my thick soled shoes, guarded with cramp-irons an inch long on account of the slippery, clayey roads. This small station contains only thirty communicants. But I found here a marvelous natural wonder, and the greatest effort of human industry I have yet seen in my long travels—an extinguished volcano.

"This place is among the mountains on the border of a rivulet, and contains, like Wú-tung-kiáu, salt-pits dug in the same manner as previously described; there are here more than a thousand of these wells containing salt water. Moreover each pit contains an inflammable air, which is conducted through bamboo tubes. It is kindled with a candle, and the flame can be blown out with the breath. When about to draw up the salt water, the fire is put out, for otherwise the air ascending in large quantities with the water would produce an explosion. Four pits in one valley, emit fire in a manner truly frightful, but produce no water, and here doubtless is the centre of the volcano. These pits originally contained water, but it having ceased flowing, the people bored on for about a dozen years to the depth of three thousand

feet and more in order to reach water, but all in vain; when uddenly an enormous jet of air burst forth, conveying with it thick black particles of matter. I saw it myself; it was more like the fumes of a burning furnace than like smoke. This air escaped with a deep rumbling noise and a frightful gasping, which was heard to a great distance; constantly emitting and throwing itself out, but never sucking in any air, for which reason I judged it to be a volcano, which received its supply of air from some lake, perhaps the great lake of Tungting in Húnán, about two hundred leagues distant. There is indeed upon a mountain a league distant, a small lake about two miles in circumference, of extraordinary depth, but I do not think that it is sufficient to supply the volcano. This sheet of water has no communication with the river, and receives its supplies only from the clouds.

"The mouth of each well is guarded with a stone curb, six or seven feet high, for fear lest, by carelessness or from malice, some one should set fire to the mouth of the pit; a case of this sort happened last August. This well is situated in the middle of a vast court, and in the centre of four large and long halls or boilcries, where are the vats in which the salt is evaporated. As soon as the fire reached the mouth of the pit, it produced a frightful explosion and a violent trembling of the earth, and instantly, the whole surface of the court was in a blaze. The flame, which was about two feet high, ran over the ground, but without burning anything. Four men ventured the risk, and brought a stone of enormous size to the mouth of the well, but it flew into the air, and only one of the men escaped a scorching; neither water nor mud availed to extinguish the fire. At length, after fifteen days of hard labor, they brought great quantities of water over the neighboring mountain, and having formed a pool of it they let the water out all at once, by which means the fire was extinguished. This cost about thirty thousand francs, which is a considerable sum in China.

"A foot beneath the surface, four enormous bamboos are inserted, which conduct the gas under the caldrons; one pit furnishes enough to boil more than three hundred kettles, each of which has a bamboo to conduct the fire to it. At the head of the bamboo is a tube of clay, six inches long, and an inch in diameter. to prevent the fire from burning the wood. The streets and large hall or kitchens are also lighted from bamboos placed at proper places. They are not able to use all the fire, and the excess is conducted in a tube outside of the salt house, where it forms three blasts, with enormous sheets of flame, playing and blazing up two feet above the chimney.

"The surface of the earth in the enclosure is extremely hot and burns under the feet; even in January, the workmen are half naked, having nothing but a small pair of drawers to cover them. Like all other travelers, I had the curiosity to light my pipe at the fire of the volcano. This fire is extremely powerful; the caldrons are cast four or five inches thick, but they are calcined and burnt through in a month. The salt water is conducted through bamboos to the spot, and received in an enormous cistern, from which, by means of a chain pump, worked night and day by four men, it is raised into a higher reservoir, whence it is carried off and supplies the kettles. The water is evaporated in twenty-four hours, and forms a cake of salt six inches thick, weighing about three hundred pounds and as hard as stone. This salt is whiter than that from Wú-tung-kiáu, and sticks less to the throat; probably the charcoal which is employed at that place, or even the difference in the salt water produces the varieties. The water of this place is not so brackish as that of Wú-tung-kiáu, and produces as many as three or even four ounces of salt per pound. In Wú-tung kiáu, charcoal is dear, while here, on the other hand, the fire costs nothing. Moreover the salt from the two districts is sold in different cities, and the custom-house officers forbear to meddle with this imperial regulation.

"This fire produces no smoke, but has a strong bituminous odor, which is perceptible at the distance of two leagues. The flame is reddish like that of charcoal; it does not stick close to the mouth of the tube like the flame of a lamp, but it begins about two inches above it, and rises up nearly two feet. In the winter, poor people dig a hole in the sand about a foot deep to warm themselves; a dozen of them sit about it and set the gas on fire in the hole with a handful of straw, and having warmed themselves as long as they like, fill it with sand, and put out the fire.

"The inhabitants, both pagan and Christian, are extremely afraid of this fire, for they believe it to be an exhalation of the flames of hell; and yet there are no greater villains or robbers in the province. The Christians themselves are lukewarm and very poor; a solitary man does not feel much at his ease among them. There is one who owns a well of salt water which produces him about fifty francs per day, but the expenses are great. The other Christians are beggarly venders of vegetables, or are employed in cutting grass on the mountains, for feeding the cattle employed in drawing the water."

XXIV. *The inferior department of Mei* lies on the R. Min between Chingtú and Kiáting fú, to the latter of which it once belonged. Though small, it is one of the best situated prefectures of the province. The origin of the name of Tungshin hien, one of its districts, is explained on page 314.

XXV. *The inferior department of Kung* is situated northwest of Mei chau, and west of Chingtú fú, and mostly within the limits of the same plain spoken of when describing the latter place—the number of whose towns is an index of its populousness and fertility. Kung chau lies north of Kiáting fú, and east of Yáchan fú.

XXVI. *The inferior department of Lú* lies east of Súichau fú on both sides of the Yángtsz' kiáng, adjoining Kweichau on the south. The chief town is eligibly located at the junction of the R. Chung with that stream, here called Tá kiáng 大江 Great R., but it does not attract so much trade as Súichau fú, for the R. Chung is a comparatively small stream. All the cities in Sz'chuen on the Yángtsz' are long settled places, as Súichau, Lú, Chungking, Pei, Chung, Kweichan, and many smaller ones; most of them are often mentioned in the Annals of Confucius, the History of the Hán dynasty, and other ancient works.

The reliable knowledge we have of the province of Sz'chuen is meagre, and we fear must remain so for some time. In natural history especially, more extended researches are necessary. The Lettres Édifiantes and Annales de la Foi contain nearly as many letters written from this province as all the other seventeen put together, yet we can glean very little from them on this last subject, or on the commercial resources of the region. One of the missionaries thus gives a general idea of the country, as it appears to a traveler:—

"This part of the province where I live presents a constant alternation of hills and small plains. Firs, oaks, and palms shade those hills which the people find too steep to cultivate. The plains, almost always submerged, resemble vast ponds, in whose bosoms are seen the crops of rice. The whole country is traversed by national roads—narrow and muddy footpaths, where two men can hardly go abreast, and if you chance to meet a sedan in the way, you must go back to where the way happens to be wider. This is all for economy's sake as the people understand it, for as the road can be improved only at the expense of the neighboring fields, they think that the traveler had better be cramped than that the harvest should suffer. Cities are not numerous here; that which is called the chief town of this region is the smallest of towns of the third rank, and yet its population is considerable. Here and there are market-towns where fairs are held nine times a month. The plain is covered with detached farmhouses hid among bamboos, apples, oranges, and other trees which remind us of the country we are in. One of them I have made my parsonage, to pass the hot season, which is very oppressive."

The climate presents great extremes. M. Dufresse mentions that in Feb. 1784, the cold continued fifteen days, and hundreds of poor people died from exposure; while another states, that during August and September, the heats in the plains are very great. Famines afflict all parts of China, while the great water-courses, through which the surplus of one province could be so easily carried to supply the deficiency of another, are infested with water thieves to such a degree that the trader dare not venture his goods. In Sz'chuen, in 1840, thousands died of want. An eye-witness says:—

"This year the misery is frightful. Rice has doubled in price. The rich, afraid lest they shall not have enough, have not given employment to the poor, who live entirely by their labor, and are consequently reduced to the most horrible distress. Untold numbers have perished by famine. How many corpses have we seen in the highways! Want has multiplied crime. The people have exposed their offspring, many have cast themselves into the rivers to shorten their torments; and robbers (always numerous in China) inundate the country. Farmers must guard not only their rice-fields, but even their kitchen-gardens. During the day, famished children, and grown up persons by night, come down upon the unripe grain like a swarm of locusts; and if the owner strikes one to drive him off, he will perchance hang himself upon the nearest tree out of revenge, that he may be implicated in his death before the rulers. Audacious thieves infest the thoroughfares, spreading themselves over the country in the night, breaking open the doors and laying hold of garments, food, animals—anything they can get. If they are resisted, the unfortunate victims are killed in cold blood, and their cries for help are unheard, for the farmhouses are isolated, and the robbers flee before succor can come. In the mountains, these outrages are perpetrated in open day, and such is the ferocity of the bandits, that they often cut off the hands of women to get their bracelets."

This famine was followed by a plague which almost decimated the inhabitants, and when in 1841, the promising crops encouraged the inhabitants to hope for better times, swarms of insects devoured the grain before it was ripe. Society was almost disorganized through

the extremity of misery, and in the town of Nánchuen, armed robbers came in open day through the streets, and entering the shops seized all they could carry. The magistrates and police in vain exerted themselves to arrest them, seizing only a few, upon whom unusual punishments were inflicted; for as the prisons were full, the wretches were first starved, then their joints broken, and finally burnt alive. Swarms of people prowled through the fields, striving to find a little to appease their hunger, feeding on green fruits, leaves, carrion, and even each other. One family was arrested, living in a secluded spot near Chungking fú, which had decoyed more than thirty persons into the house, and devoured them all.

The condition, number, and tribes of the aborigines still remaining in Sz'chuen offer many interesting subjects of inquiry, upon which our authentic information is scanty. M. Imbert speaks of those he calls Miáutsz' as a simple, timid and unpolished race, whose chieftains are subject to the Chinese authorities, and who maintain their partial independence only by secluding themselves in the mountains. Those in the west he calls Sifán, and describes their country as exceedingly rough. These mountaineers are probably the descendants of the people formerly called Tangouts, for this region was once mostly included in the kingdom of that name, which was subjugated by Gengis khan in A.D. 1227. It is more than probable, however, that these hardy mountaineers have always submitted to foreign rule only so far and so willingly as suited their interests; and have thereby kept themselves even more degraded and wretched than their lowland neighbors. The religious control of the Tibetan lamas probably assimilates these people much more to H'lassa than to Peking.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences: return of the Str. Reynard and Gov. Bonham; death of Gov. Da Cunha; meeting in relation to the Exhibition of Industry in* 1851*; licensing of tea-brokers at Canton.*

THE *late visit of H. M. screw-propeller Reynard*, to the mouth of the Pei ho, has given rise to considerable speculation as to its object and results. She returned to Hongkong on the 17th inst.; while absent she visited the termination of the Great Wall between Chihli and Liáutung, the same place reached in 1840 by the Str. Madagascar (see Vols. IX. p. 421, and X. p. 579). The Reynard was found to draw too much water to be able to proceed up to Tientsin, and her dispatches were received on shore by Chinese officers. Further discussion on their subject matter was precluded by the assertion on

the part of the recipients that H. E. Sü was the medium through which communications were received at Peking. Even if such was the reply, and such found to be the rule, we still think the visits of national vessels of all flags to the mouth of the Pei ho should be multiplied, and if they dropped in at other ports on the coast, as they have the right to do by Art. 32 of the American treaty, all the better. The more often intercourse can be held with the authorities of this empire by foreign powers, the better for both parties, despite of the many difficulties in the way.

H. E. Gov. Bonham and suite and family returned to Hongkong the next day after the Reynard, after an absence of nearly three months.

H. E. Gov. Da Cunha, whose arrival was noticed last month, died of cholera on the 6th inst., having been sick only about eight hours. His death left the colony without a head, and on opening his instructions, the Provisional Council found that no provision had been made in them for such an event by devolving his negotiations with the Chinese authorities, on any other person. We suppose therefore they can only refer the matter to Lisbon. We extract a paragraph from the Mail upon his character, and only add in reference to the last sentence, that the settlement has been quiet since last autumn, and has rather increased in business during a few months past, though none of the large native establishments have returned from Whampoa.

Macao is again without a governor, commodore Da Cunha, who arrived on the 28th of May, having died on the 6th of July, after a forty days' tenure of office. The *Boletim do Governo* has been published, containing the official intimation, besides an editorial article on the subject, and a communication from an officer in the Portuguese Navy, bewailing the loss which his country, and more especially the settlement of Macao, has sustained. With the limited opportunities we enjoyed of forming an opinion, we entirely concur in regarding the death of Governor Da Cunha as a great calamity. He seemed to us a person of much intelligence, clearness of perception, and firmness of purpose, united to great prudence, and free from strong prejudice. Probably he might not have considered it his duty to adopt extreme measures until others had been tried, to advance the interests of the colony, and preserve the honor of his country; and we believe that had his life been spared, he would have done both.

The stories afloat about the peremptory demands made by him upon the Imperial Commissioner, are without foundation, for we can say confidently, that up to the day of his death, no communication had passed between him and the authorities at Canton; and we may add, that instead of breathing hatred and fury against the Chinese people, he was disposed to regard them favorably, and had already shown how he could augment the revenues of the settlement by protecting and encouraging them.—*Chino Moil.*

A meeting of foreigners was held at Hongkong on the 24th ult., and at the British Consulate in Canton on the next day, to take into consideration the best means of procuring specimens of the different articles of the produce and manufacture of China for the Exhibition of 1851. The proceedings of the meeting at Canton explain the manner in which the objects of the Exhibition are intended to be furthered.

At a preliminary meeting of gentlemen held at the British Consulate, Canton, *present*, John Bowring, Esq. LL. D. in the Chair; Rev. P. Parker, M.D. Messrs. Carlowitz, Browne, Elmslie, Reynvaan, Ponder, Dent, Moore, Dunlop, Sturgis, Ellice, Livingston, Middleton, Sassoon, Heard, Parkin, Sichel, Ryder, Kennedy, and Cowasjee Pallanjee, the following Resolutions were unanimously carried.

Proposed by John Dent, Esq., and seconded by W. Moore, Esq.

1. That the Exhibition of the Industry of Nations, which is to take place in London in the spring of 1851, is entitled to all support and co-operation; and that for the purpose of collecting and contributing thereunto the various productions of China, the gentlemen present do form themselves into a Committee with power to add to their number.

Proposed by R. S. Sturgis, Esq., and seconded by A. Dunlop, Esq.

2. That Dr. Bowring be the Chairman of the said Committee.

Proposed by Dr. Parker, and seconded by A. Sossoon, Esq.

3. That James T. Walker and Horace Oakley, Esqs. be the Secretaries.

Proposed by John Heard, Esq., and seconded by Robert Browne, Esq.

4. That the Oriental Bank be requested to act as bankers to the said Committee.

Proposed by R. Ellice, Esq., and seconded by W. W. Parkin, Esq

5. That a Committee of Finance, consisting of Messrs. Dent, Forbes, Dunlop, Ponder, Livingston and Heard, be appointed, and that they be requested to take such measures as may be desirable for collecting funds; and that any three of the said Finance Committee be authorized to sign checks on behalf of the General Committee.

Proposed by W. P. Livingston, Esq., and seconded by Charles Ryder, Esq.

6. That a sub-committee of Correspondence, consisting of the Finance Committee and Messrs. Parkin, Moore, Gilman, Elmslie, Carlowitz, Sassoon, and Cowasjee Pallanjee, be appointed to correspond with the Committees of Hongkong, Shánghai, and other places in China, or elsewhere, where arrangements may be made for furthering the objects of the Exhibition.

Proposed by D. Kennedy, Esq., and seconded by R. S. Sturgis, Esq.

7. That a Chinese sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Parker, Messrs. Meadows, Reynvaan, Carlowitz and Browne, be appointed for making such communications to the Chinese as may be desirable.

Proposed by W. Moore, Esq., and seconded by H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq.

8. That a sub-committee of Classification, consisting of Dr. Parker, Messrs. Forbes, Ponder, Gilman, Ellice, Carlowitz, F. A. King, Sichel, Ryder, Marjoribanks, J. A. T. Meadows, and Birley, be appointed to consider the best arrangement of articles to be collected, and the best means of collecting them.

Proposed by Dr. Parker, and seconded by Cowasjee Pallanjee, Esq.

9. That all sub-committees, with the exception of the Committee of Finance be authorized to add to their numbers any members who are likely to forward the special objects for which such sub-committee is named, and that all sub-committees be requested to report their proceedings to the General Committee.

Proposed by H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq., and seconded by M. Sichel, Esq.

10. That in order to prevent the transmission of duplicates, to obtain the most complete collection of objects, and to facilitate their conveyance and reception in England, gentlemen wishing to send articles on their own account be requested to communicate with the Committee.

Proposed by Dr. Bowring, and seconded by John Dent, Esq.

11. That the General Committee meet weekly at the British Consulate on Tuesday at 12 o'clock.

Proposed by M. Sichel, Esq., and seconded by John Dent, Esq.

12. That the articles sent under the sanction of this Committee be represented in a common fund, in which every subscriber shall have a pro rata interest according to the amount of his contribution.

Proposed by A. Dunlop, Esq., and seconded by W. Moore, Esq.

13. That these Resolutions be published in the Hongkong papers, and printed and circulated throughout the Factories.

Proposed by Robert Browne, Esq., and seconded by H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq.

14. That a sub-committee be appointed, consisting of Dr. Parker, Mr. Elmslie, and Mr. Ellice, in order to prepare for circulation a statement of the objects of the Exhibition, with any regulations or arrangements adopted in England, and that such statement be submitted for approval at the next general meeting.

Proposed by John Dent, Esq., and seconded by W. Moore Esq.

15. That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman.

Canton, 25th June, 1850. JOHN BOWRING,—*Chairman.*

J. T. WALKER, HORACE OAKLEY, } *Secretaries.*

Another meeting was called soon after at the same place on the 4th inst., at which there was a large attendance of the foreign community, when the following resolutions were passed.

1. *Proposed by Mr. David Jardine, seconded by Rev. Doct. Parker,*—That this Meeting feels interested in the success of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, intended to take place in London during the early part of the coming year, under the auspices of the Prince Consort, and associated with so many illustrious names,—that the Exhibition is likely to advance the interests of science and civilization, to extend the relations of commerce, and to strengthen the friendly intercourse between the various branches of the human family.

2. *Proposed by Mr. J. F. Edger, seconded by Mr. R. S. Sturgis.*—That this Meeting approves of the steps which have been taken by the Preliminary Meeting, held at the British Consulate on the 25th June, and requests the Committee then appointed to continue and give effect to the arrangements then made.

3. *Proposed by Mr. John Dent, seconded by Mr. A. Dunlop.*—That while it is to be regretted that the short period which intervenes between the present time and that fixed for the opening of the Exhibition, does not allow of such arrangements as will enable contributions to be sent from the great Chinese Empire, displaying in their full

extent its many natural productions, the implements of labor in their various forms, its manufactures and works of art and science,—this Meeting is of opinion that a very interesting, instructive, and useful addition to the Exhibition may be made from this country.

4. *Proposed by Mr S. Ponder, seconded by Mr Livingston,*—That as the difficulties of personal intercourse with the authorities and with the people of China render it improbable that to any considerable extent they will be induced to exhibit the productions of their own country, the amounts raised by subscription form a common fund in which every contributor shall be held to be represented according to the proportionate benefits or losses, when the articles shall have been disposed of.

5. *Proposed by Mr H. Moul, seconded by Mr R. Carlowitz.*—That the Finance Committee be, and is hereby requested to take such measures as they may deem desirable for the collection of subscriptions in furtherance of the objects of this Meeting.

6. *Proposed by Mr D. Kennedy, seconded by Mr D. Jardine.*—That in the anomalous and unsatisfactory position which foreign residents occupy in this country, and from the impediments to all social intercourse, this Meeting deeply regrets that the contributions which can be furnished from hence will neither adequately represent its multifarious productions, nor enable them to carry out the views of the Commissioners in the enlightened and generous spirit in which they were conceived.

7. *Proposed by Mr Charles Ryder, seconded by Mr A. Sassoon.*—That these Resolutions be inserted in the Hongkong newspapers.

8. *Proposed by Mr David Jardine, seconded by Mr A. Dunlop,*—That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Chairman.

JAMES T. WALKER, HORACE OAKLEY, *Secretaries.* JOHN BOWRING,—*Chairman.*

A subscription paper has since been circulated among the merchants by the Finance Committee, and upwards of $8,000 subscribed. Considerable progress has also been made in collecting articles to be forwarded, and it is thought that the variety brought together even in the limited time allowed will exhibit almost every branch of Chinese art and manufacture. The opportunity of co-operating in the exhibition has been presented to Gov. Sü, but as was anticipated he declined having anything to do with it.

A system of licensing tea warehouses has recently been established by the governor-general, the objects of which are to be gathered from the following edict and regulations issued by the district magistrates.

Petition of the old hong-merchants, Howqua and others, granted to establish tea warehouses, and regulations for levying expenses.

Fung, district magistrate of Nánhai, and Shauki, district magistrate of Pwán-yü, &c., &c., issue their perspicuous proclamation:—Whereas, the former hong-merchants, Howqua and others, on account of the abolition by Government [of the old co-hong], having caused the tea trade to be diffused and unsettled, so that there is no fixed point for the public items, having petitioned requesting the establishing of warehouses, and levying expenses for the convenience of maintaining a supervision of the tea trade, and the liquidation of their old obligations to the imperial treasury, we have had the honor to receive the reply of the Governor-general, directing deliberations to be held upon the subject, and after joint deliberation thereon, held at the time, we reported to His Excellency the result, who in reply directed that we should enjoin upon the warehouses to conform thereto. Now, it appears that the said tea warehouses, being without precedent, the proprietors invited all the tea merchants to meet and deliberate upon regulations by which to conduct them, and they (members of the tea warehouses) have come before us with their petition to allow them to fill the station. Besides complying with their request, and reporting the same to all (the high officers whom it concerns, as H. E. the Governor-general, the Governor, Superintendent of customs, Commissary of grain, and the Prefect), that the same might be entered upon the archives, and issuing our licenses to the said warehouese firms, and enjoining upon them to act accordingly; we also, sincerely apprehending that the tea merchants, and houses engaged in foreign traffick, are not yet fully and universally informed upon the subject, as it behooves us to issue a luminous Proclamation to this end, we do

proclaim to the tea merchants of the different provinces, and to firms engaged in foreign trade, for their full information, that hereafter when teas arrive at Canton, and when the dealers with foreigners purchase these teas, it is absolutely necessary that they each conform to the following Regulations. Let there be no opposition. Special proclamation.

Regulations. 1. Every merchant on bringing his teas (to Canton) must store them in the government warehouses, and these having been clearly examined, and their marks and number of chests ascertained at the official warehouses, the proprietors of the warehouse must immediately repair to the Consoo of the old hong-merchants, and distinctly and minutely report the same. Having settled for the sale, on the day of weighing them, they must immediately report to what dealers in foreign trade they are sold, and separately report the marks, number of packages, and weight of the teas disposed of. If any of the said tea merchants, having stored teas in the government warehouses, should remove them to another place, this also must be reported in order to clear investigation and management thereof.

2. As to the discount for difference of weight and value of moneys employed in transactions between the tea warehouses and the dealers in foreign goods, of late years every hundred taels by the tea scales has been discounted at a difference of five taels and odd by the government scales. Now it has been decided, after deliberation, that in future, there shall be universal conformity to the precedent of the old co-hong, that the discount between tea scales and those of the new treasury scales, shall be two taels per hundred taels (i. e. 100 taels by tea money weight will be reckoned 98 taels new treasury standard), and only 20 taels in the hundred can consist of broken (or "chopped") money, and should there be no broken money, then there will be a further deduction, but not exceeding one tael (for each hundred taels). The tea merchants obtaining this compensatory discount in their favor, will possess a very great advantage in [receiving] their tea money, and it is right according to this regulation to deduct *two mace* for every pecul of tea, to compensate the warehouse proprietor, and by him to be delivered to the Consoo of the old hong-merchants, and by them delivered over to the government treasury.

3. Warehouses for black and green teas (from other provinces), and for the Tsingyuen teas (of Canton), have been opened for many years, incurring the cost of lodging the merchants, storing teas, rent of warehouses, and various items of porterage and other requisite expenses, and in future, according to the rule hitherto existing, black teas will pay a commission of five mace per pecul, and green and native Tsingyuen teas will pay a commission according to the old regulations respecting them. (?)

4. If a tea merchant rent a place of residence for himself and for storing his teas, or if the hong-merchants manage for their own chops (i. e. send their partners or agents to the tea country, and purchase their teas), each must accordingly repair to the official warehouses and report the number of chests, and through the official warehouses communicate the same to the Consoo of the old hong-merchants. On selling the teas, the said government warehouses, shall deduct a commission of three mace (per pecul), but if said tea merchant employs another warehouse to sell his teas for him, then the said superintending official warehouse shall receive a commission of only five candareens, and there must be no dispute upon the point. The dealer in foreign trade also must have the evidence of the official warehouse certificate (that the teas have been deposited in government warehouses), before he will be allowed to purchase them, and if he do not possess such certificate he will be considered as smuggling the teas.

5. When one licensed warehouse shall sell the teas of another of the same class, it is provided clear, that for black teas, it shall receive a commission of five candareens per pecul to recompense it for its trouble, and the remaining four mace five candareens shall revert to the original warehouse to compensate its trouble. In respect to green and native Tsingyuen teas, there will be a division between the two parties, according to the respective commission on each, and they will be managed in the same manner as black teas. As to the deduction of two mace per pecul of teas, to make up the deficiency in the public items, it must be done according to the original petition of the old hong-merchants, viz, the

weight must be reckoned as at the time of sale, allowing a deduction of ten per cent. (tare). And on paying the money, the weight is to be according to the treasurer's scale, and not of the tea scales, so as to pay less.

6. When chests of tea are furnished as samples to the dealer with foreigners, five catties from a chest is the standard which he is allowed to take out as a muster; should he exceed this, he must pay the tea-merchant for the excess, according to the value of the tea, and can not refuse it.

7. Persons having undertaken the warehouse business, subsequently desiring to go into other occupations, will be permitted to report the same and retire, delivering their licenses back to the old hong-merchants to be handed over to government and cancelled.

8. These regulations are established with a primary view to maintain a surveillance over the tea trade, and thus to guard against smuggling and other like evils: if any do not conform to them, then, by the tea warehouses, they are to be reported to the authorities, to be prosecuted and punished.

9. As to the deduction of two mace to repay the money from the imperial treasury, the responsibility is fixed upon the dealers in foreign trade who purchase the teas, who, upon the day of weighing and delivering the teas, are immediately to take this money, and deliver it over to the tea warehouses, to be transferred by them to the Consoo of the old hong-merchants, and by them paid into the treasury, in order to show the importance of imperial treasury items.

Tankwáng, 30th year, 4th moon, 29th day. (June 9th, 1850.)

A faithful translation, PETER PARKER.

These regulations were considered as contravening the stipulations of the treaties in relation to monopolies, and this view of the matter was brought to H. E.'s notice by the foreign officials. Sü's answer to the American chargé d'affaires is here introduced to explain his ideas on this point.

Sü Kwángtsin, hereditary viscount of the first grade, Governor-general of the Two Kwang provinces, *ex officio* a president of the Board of War, minister and commissioner of the Great Pure Dynasty, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the honorable Commissioner's dispatch making inquiries relative to the subject of the establishment of tea warehouses, and levying commissions by the old hong-merchants, which he has perused and fully understands.

It appears on examination that the old hong-merchants, inasmuch as they were in debt for money borrowed from the public item (i. e. the government treasury), and were without the means of repaying it, after deliberation decided, from the tea warehouses old hong commission of *five* mace, to deduct *two* mace, in oder to liquidate their debt:— [an arrangement] which in no way whatever concerns either the Chinese or foreign merchants; therefore, during the last year, they memorialized the government upon the subject, and [were authorised] to manage accordingly. Now, the two district magistrates of Nánhái and Pwányü, according to the publicly adopted regulations of all the tea warehouses, have issued a perspicuous Proclamation, that all both far and near, universally, may understand them, and adhere to the same for ever. As requisite, I make this reply, and avail myself of the occasion to present you my compliments, and wishes for your health and happiness. The two original dispatches are herewith returned.

The foregoing communication is addressed to Peter Parker, chargé d'affaires, *ad interim*, of the United States of America to China.

Táukwáng, 30th year, 6th moon, 5th day. (13th July, 1850).

Movements of missionaries. The Rev. W. Gillespie embarked for England in the P. & O. St. Braganza on the 24th inst.; he does not expect to return to China. The Rev. J. V. N. Talmage and Mrs. Talmage arrived at Hongkong in the Tartar from New York on the 6th inst., and soon after left for Amoy. Misses Tenney and Baker came in the same vessel, the former to join the Amer. Epis. mission at Shánghái, the latter the Baptist mission at Canton. Rev. R. S. Maclay and Miss H. R. Sperry were married on the 10th inst. at Hongkong, and have since left for Fuhchau.